

250TH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE
FIRST CHURCH IN CAMBRIDGE

1636—1886

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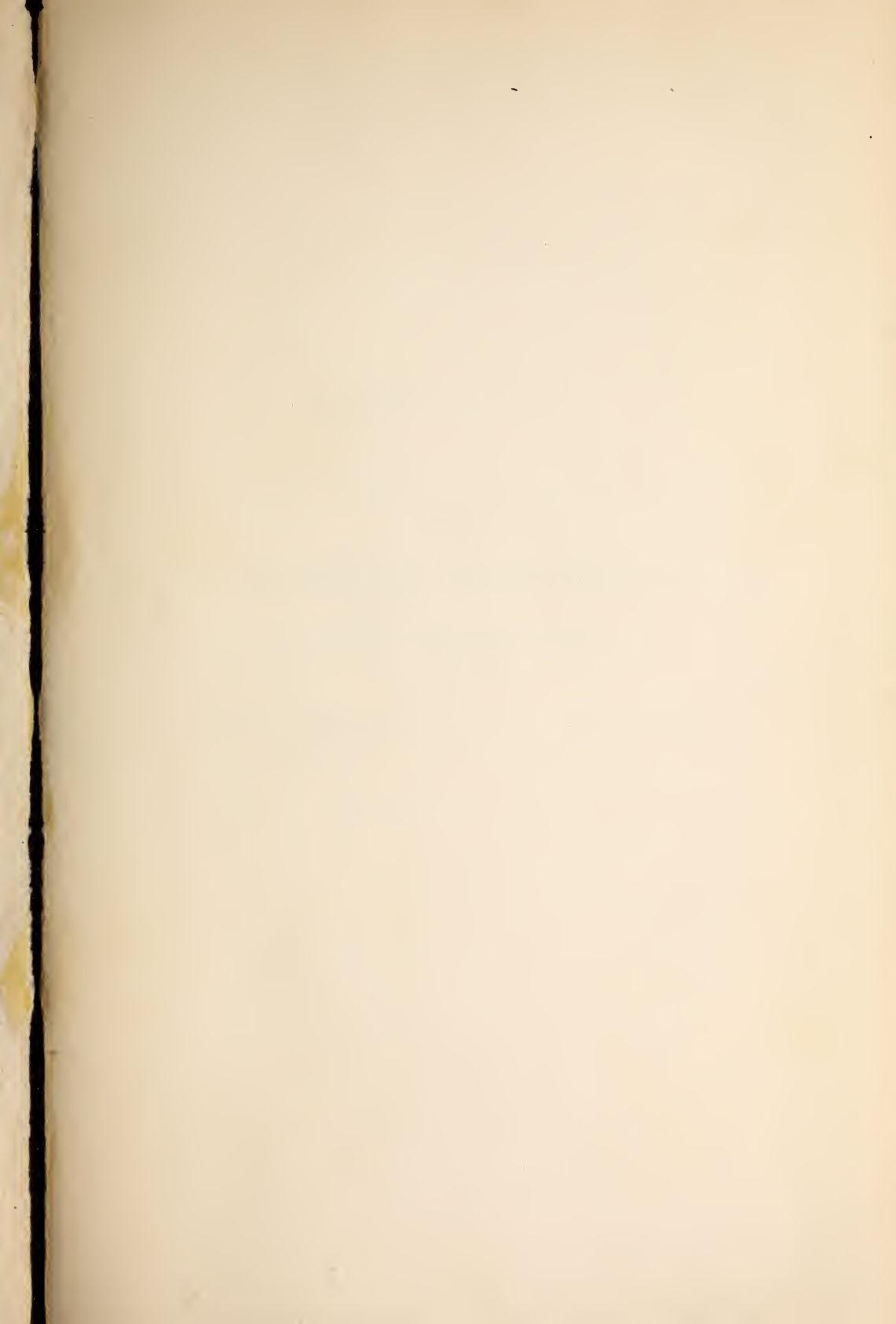
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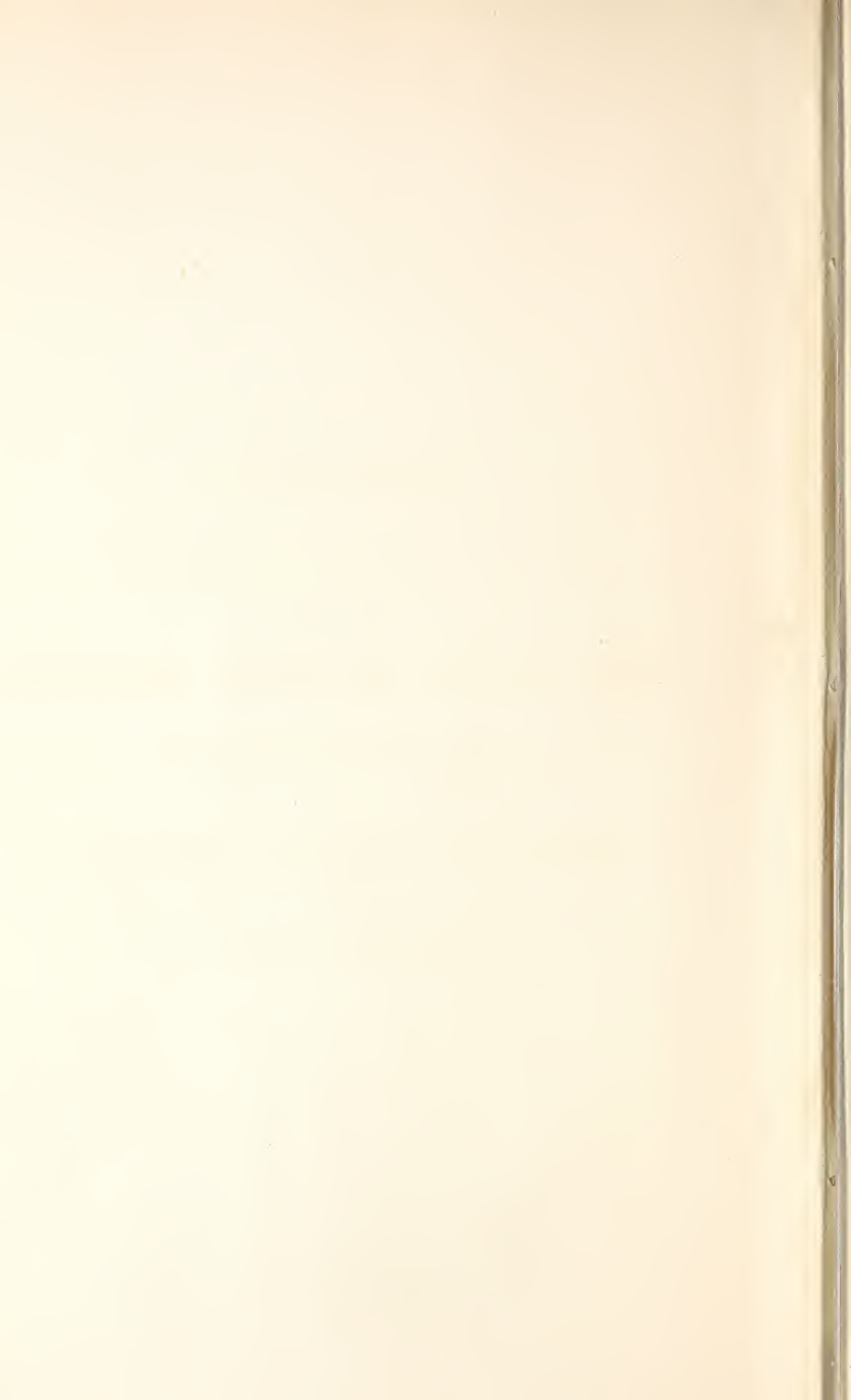
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SERVICES

AT THE CELEBRATION

OF THE

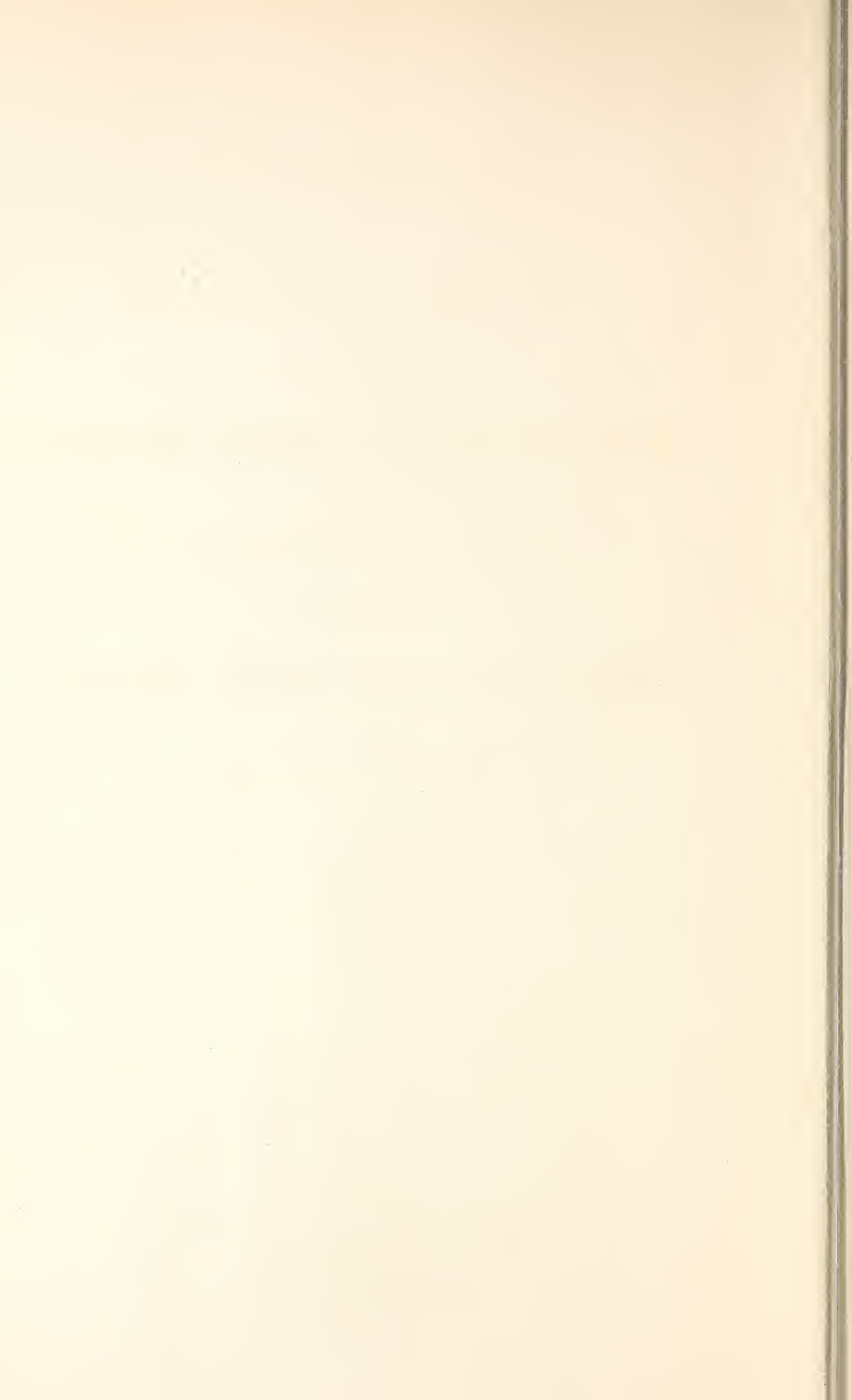
Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary

OF THE ORGANIZATION

OF THE

FIRST CHURCH IN CAMBRIDGE,

FEBRUARY 7—14, 1886.



SERVICES
AT THE CELEBRATION
OF THE
Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary
OF THE ORGANIZATION
OF THE
FIRST CHURCH IN CAMBRIDGE,

FEBRUARY 7—14, 1886.



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1886.

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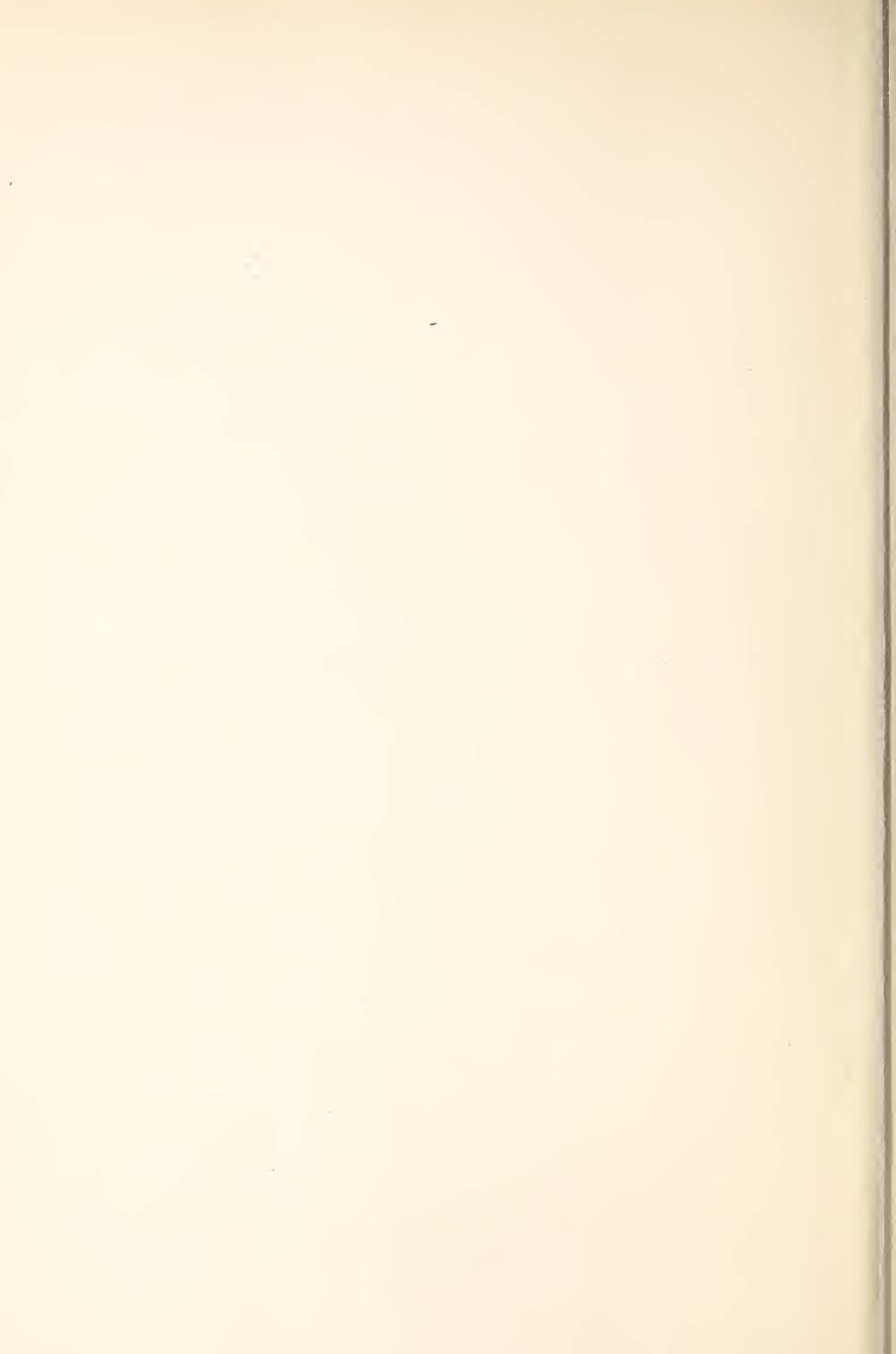
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PRELIMINARY PROCEEDINGS.



PRELIMINARY PROCEEDINGS.

AT a meeting of the Parish Committee of the First Parish in Cambridge, held Dec. 14, 1885, the following vote was passed:—

“That, in behalf of the First Parish, we cordially invite the Shepard Congregational Society to unite with us in a celebration of the approaching two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the settlement of our common ancestor, Thomas Shepard.”

To this the following reply was received:—

“At a meeting of the Prudential Committee held Dec. 20, 1885, it was voted ‘that, in behalf of the Shepard Congregational Society, we cordially accept the invitation of the First Parish to unite with them in a celebration of the approaching two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the settlement of our common ancestor, Thomas Shepard.’”

In pursuance of the above correspondence, the Committees of the two parishes met in the vestry of the First Parish Church, Dec. 30, 1885, and determined upon the general plan of the celebration,

leaving all the arrangements in charge of a special Committee to be appointed by the two pastors.

At the hands of this Committee the plans were gradually matured, and it was finally decided that both churches should be open for the celebration, and that commemorative services should be held in the afternoon and evening, with a social gathering and collation between. The day chosen for the commemoration was that mentioned by Governor Winthrop as the date of the assembly held at Newtown for organizing the church under Thomas Shepard. This was Feb. 1, 1636; of which the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary, allowing for the change from old style to new, would be Feb. 11, 1886. As it was found impracticable to observe the exact anniversary, the following day, Feb. 12, 1886, was selected in its stead.

These plans were carried out with entire success, despite the cloudy skies. Rain fell in torrents from morning till night, yet both churches were filled by eager congregations. Opening services were held in the afternoon in the First Parish Church, followed by a social gathering and collation in the commodious chapel and anterooms of the Shepard Memorial Church, where the invited guests were hospitably received by members of the two congregations. The celebration was brought to a close by evening services in the Shepard Church.

1636

The First Church in Cambridge.

1886

To.....

Sir :

You are invited to participate in the Celebration of the

Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary

of

The Organization of the First Church in Cambridge,

Under THOMAS SHEPARD, February $\frac{1}{11}$, 1636.

Commemorative Services will be held on Friday, February 12, 1886, in the First Parish Church at three o'clock, and in the Shepard Memorial Church at half-past seven o'clock, P.M. Between these services there will be a Social Reunion in the Chapel of the Shepard Memorial Church.

Cordially yours,

EDWARD H. HALL,

J. T. G. NICHOLS,

ARTHUR E. JONES,

Committee of the First Parish.

ALEXANDER McKENZIE,

GEORGE S. SAUNDERS,

CHARLES W. MUNROE,

Committee of the Shepard Congregational Society.

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS,

January, 1886.

Please reply to J. T. G. NICHOLS, M.D., Cambridge.

COMMITTEES.

Chairman of the Day.

HON. CHARLES THEODORE RUSSELL.

GENERAL COMMITTEE.

FIRST PARISH.

Rev. E. H. HALL.	President C. W. ELIOT.
Dr. J. T. G. NICHOLS.	Mr. WILLIAM M. VAUGHAN.
Mr. FRANCIS L. CHAPMAN.	Mr. FRANKLIN PERRIN.
Mr. JOHN S. GANNETT.	Mr. ARTHUR E. JONES.
Mr. J. A. HENSHAW.	Prof. FRANCIS G. PEABODY.
Mr. WILLIAM T. PIPER.	Mr. JOHN HOLMES.
Mr. W. W. NEWELL.	Mr. CHARLES DEANE.
Rev. Dr. F. H. HEDGE.	Mr. A. A. WHITNEY.
Mr. JUSTIN WINSOR.	Mr. CHARLES C. READ.
Mr. EPES S. DIXWELL.	Mr. A. M. HOWE.
Mrs. F. L. CHAPMAN.	Mr. WALTER S. SWAN.
Mrs. M. E. SIMMONS.	Miss JULIA E. WATSON.
Mrs. HENRY W. PAINE.	Mrs. FRANKLIN PERRIN.
Mrs. WILLIAM READ.	Mrs. W. S. SWAN.

SHEPARD CONGREGATIONAL SOCIETY.

Rev. ALEXANDER MCKENZIE, D.D.	Mr. CALEB H. WARNER.
Hon. CHARLES THEODORE RUSSELL.	Mr. GEORGE S. SAUNDERS.
Hon. JAMES M. W. HALL.	Mr. CHARLES W. MUNROE.
Prof. ASA GRAY.	Mr. FRANCIS FLINT.
Prof. E. N. HORSFORD.	Mr. GEORGE B. ROBERTS.
Hon. HORATIO G. PARKER.	Mr. CHARLES F. STRATTON.
Hon. S. S. SLEEPER.	

SPECIAL COMMITTEES.

 Committee of Arrangements.

Rev. E. H. HALL.

Dr. J. T. G. NICHOLS, *Sec.*

ARTHUR E. JONES, Esq.

Rev. ALEXANDER MCKENZIE, D.D.

Mr. CHARLES W. MUNROE.

Mr. GEORGE S. SAUNDERS.

 On Invitations and Printing.

Rev. Mr. HALL.

Rev. Dr. MCKENZIE.

 On Finance.

Dr. NICHOLS.

Mr. SAUNDERS.

 On Music and Collation.

Mr. JONES.

Mr. MUNROE.

 Committee of Ladies to have the Direction of the Collation.

FROM THE FIRST PARISH.

Mrs. M. E. SIMMONS.

Mrs. HENRY W. PAINE.

Mrs. WILLIAM READ.

Mrs. F. L. CHAPMAN.

Mrs. FRANKLIN PERRIN.

Miss JULIA E. WATSON.

FROM THE SHEPARD CONGREGATIONAL SOCIETY.

Mrs. ALEXANDER MCKENZIE.

Mrs. GEORGE S. SAUNDERS.

Miss IRENE F. SANGER.

Mrs. J. HENRY THAYER.

Mrs. FRANCIS FLINT.

Miss SARAH ROPES.

USHERS.

AT THE FIRST PARISH CHURCH.

A. M. HOWE.

SAMUEL A. ELIOT.

EDMUND A. WHITMAN.

HENRY A. NICHOLS.

AT THE SHEPARD MEMORIAL CHURCH.

GEORGE H. CUSHMAN.

GEORGE E. SAUNDERS.

CHARLES S. HANKS.

WILLIAM E. SAUNDERS.

GEORGE B. HENSHAW.

ROBERT T. OSGOOD.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee held on Saturday, Feb. 20, it was voted that the thanks of the two parishes be communicated to the several gentlemen who had taken part in the services, and that copies of their addresses be requested for publication in permanent form. It was also determined to print the sermons preached in the two churches on the Sundays preceding and following the anniversary.

1636.

1886.

ORDER OF SERVICES

AT

The Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary

OF THE ORGANIZATION OF THE

First Church in Cambridge,

Under THOMAS SHEPARD, February $\frac{1}{11}$, 1636.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1886.

FIRST PARISH CHURCH,

AT THREE O'CLOCK, P. M.

I. ORGAN VOLUNTARY.

II. ANTHEM.

PSALM cvii. 8; cxlv. 15, 16.—Garrett.

PRAISE ye the Lord for His goodness, and declare the wonders that He doeth for the children of men.

The eyes of all wait on Thee, O Lord, and Thou givest them meat in due season. Thou openest Thine hand, and fillest all things living with plenteousness.

III. READING OF SCRIPTURES.

REV. GEORGE W. BRIGGS, D.D.

IV. PRAYER.

REV. CHARLES F. THWING.

V. ANTHEM.

PSALM xxvii. 8, 11, 16.—Smart.

HEARKEN unto my voice, O Lord, when I cry unto Thee. Have mercy upon me and hear me: for Thou hast been my succor; leave me not, neither forsake me, O God of my salvation. Oh, tarry thou the Lord's leisure. Be strong, and He shall comfort thine heart, and put thou thy trust in the Lord.

VI. PSALM 91.

From Sternhold and Hopkins.—Tune: "Dundee."

HE that within the secret place
of God most high doth dwell,
Under the shadow of his grace
he shall be safe and well.

Thou art my hope and my stronghold,
I to the Lord will say;
My God he is, in him will I
my whole affiance stay.

He shall defend thee from the snare
the which the hunter laid,
And from the deadly plague and care
whereof thou art afraid.

For why? O Lord, I only rest,
and fix my hope on thee;
In the most high I put my trust,
my sure defence is he.



VII. INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS.

HON. CHARLES THEODORE RUSSELL.



VIII. ADDRESS.

REV. ALEXANDER MCKENZIE, D.D.



IX. ADDRESS.

HON. WILLIAM E. RUSSELL, Mayor.



X. ANTHEM.

PSALM c. 1; ciii. 8-13. — Martin.

OH come before His presence with singing.

The Lord is full of compassion and mercy, long-suffering and of great mercy. He will not alway be chiding, neither keepeth He His anger forever. He hath not dealt with us after our sins, nor rewarded us according to our wickednesses.

For look how high the heaven is in comparison of the earth, so great is His mercy toward them that fear Him.

Look how wide also the east is from the west, so far hath He set our sins from us.

Like as a father pitieth his own children, so is the Lord merciful to them that fear Him.



XI. ADDRESS.

HON. OLIVER W. HOLMES, JR.



XII. ADDRESS.

REV. FREDERIC H. HEDGE, D.D.

XIII. PRAYER.

XIV. PSALM 106.

From Sternhold and Hopkins. — Tune: "St. Martin's."

PRAISE ye the Lord, for he is good,
his mercy lasts alway:
Who can express his noble acts,
or all his praise display?

They blessèd are that judgments keep,
and justly do alway:
With favor of thy people, Lord,
remember me, I pray.

Save us, O Lord, thou art our God,
we do thee humbly pray;
And from among the heathen folk,
Lord, gather us away.

That we may triumph and rejoice
in thy most holy name:
That we may glory in thy praise,
and sounding of thy fame.

The Lord, the God of Israel,
be blessèd evermore:
Let all the people say, Amen,
praise ye the Lord therefore.

XV. BENEDICTION.

SHEPARD MEMORIAL CHURCH,

AT HALF-PAST SEVEN O'CLOCK, P. M.

I. ORGAN VOLUNTARY.

MR. W. M. RICHARDSON.

II. ANTHEM.

"Oh, sing unto the Lord."

III. READING OF THE SCRIPTURES.

REV. DAVID N. BEACH.

IV. PRAYER.

PROF. FRANCIS G. PEABODY.

V. PSALM 23.

From Sternhold and Hopkins.—Tune: "Marlow.

MY Shepherd is the living Lord,
nothing therefore I need:
In pastures fair with waters calm,
he setteth me to feed.
He did convert and glad my soul,
and brought my mind in frame,
To walk in paths of righteousness
for his most holy Name.
Yea, tho' I walk in vale of death,
yet will I fear no ill:
Thy rod and staff do comfort me,
for thou art with me still.
And in the presence of my foes
my table thou shalt spread:
Thou shalt, O Lord, fill full my cup,
and wilt anoint my head.
Through all my life thy favour is
so frankly shew'd to me,
That in thy house forevermore
my dwelling-place shall be.

VI. ADDRESS.

REV. EDWARD H. HALL.

VII. ADDRESS.

PRESIDENT CHARLES W. ELIOT.

VIII. READING OF LETTERS.

From Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, Jr., Esq., SAMUEL J. BRIDGE, Esq., Rev. GEORGE L. WALKER, D.D., Hon. JAMES M. W. HALL.

IX. HYMN.—THE WORD OF PROMISE,

(by supposition)

An Hymn set forth to be sung by the Great Assembly at Newtown, Mo. 12. 1. 1636.

[Written by OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, eldest son of REV. ABIEL HOLMES, eighth pastor of the First Church.]

LORD, Thou hast led us as of old
Thine Arm led forth the chosen Race
Through Foes that raged, through Floods that roll'd,
To Canaan's far off Dwelling-place.

Here is Thy bounteous Table spread,
Thy Manna falls on every Field,
Thy Grace our hungering Souls hath fed,
Thy Might hath been our Spear and Shield.

Lift high Thy Buckler, Lord of Hosts !
Guard Thou Thy Servants, Sons and Sires,
While on the Godless heathen Coasts
They light Thine Israel's Altar-fires !

The salvage Wilderneys remote
Shall hear Thy Works and Wonders sung ;
So from the Rock that Moses smote
The Fountain of the Desert sprung.

Soon shall the slumbering Morn awake,
From wandering Stars of Error freed,
When Christ the Bread of Heaven shall break
For Saints that own a common Creed.

The Walls that fence His Flocks apart
Shall crack and crumble in Decay,
And every Tongue and every Heart
Shall welcome in the new-born Day.

Then shall His glorious Church rejoice
His Word of Promise to recall, —
ONE SHELTERING FOLD, ONE SHEPHERD'S VOICE,
ONE GOD AND FATHER OVER ALL !

X. ADDRESS.

HON. HORATIO G. PARKER.

XI. ADDRESS.

REV. NATHANIEL G. CLARK, D.D.

XII. HYMN.

BY THE REV. ABIEL HOLMES, D.D.

Tune: "St. Ann's."

GR^EAT God! Thou heard'st our fathers' prayer,
When, o'er the ocean brought,
They, with a patriarchal care,
A sanctuary sought.

Hither Thy guidance led their feet, —
Here was their first abode:
And here, where now their children meet,
They found a place for God.

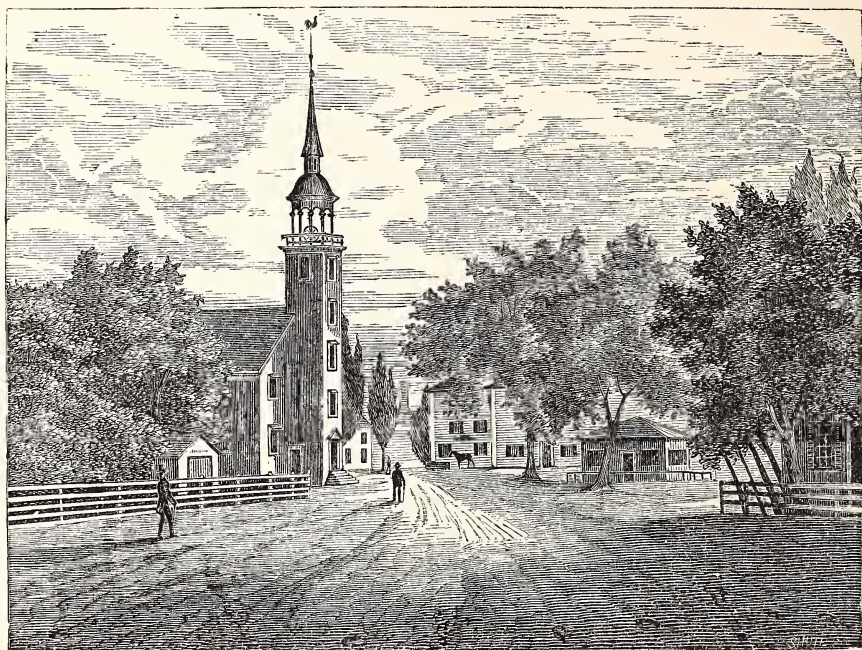
Thy flock, Immanuel, here was fed,
In pastures green and fair;
Beside still waters gently led,
And Thine the shepherd's care.

Here may the church Thy cause maintain,
Thy truth with peace and love,
Till her last earth-born live again
With the first-born above.

XIII. PRAYER.

XIV. BENEDICTION.

*The Honorable CHARLES THEODORE RUSSELL will preside over these
Commemorative Exercises.*



THE FOURTH MEETING-HOUSE, ERECTED
ON WATCH-HOUSE HILL,
IN 1756.

S E R M O N

BY

REV. ALEXANDER MCKENZIE, D.D.,

IN THE

Shepard Memorial Church,

FEB. 7, 1886.



S E R M O N.

THAT HE MIGHT PRESENT IT TO HIMSELF A GLORIOUS CHURCH,
NOT HAVING SPOT, OR WRINKLE, OR ANY SUCH THING; BUT
THAT IT SHOULD BE HOLY AND WITHOUT BLEMISH. — Ephe-
sians v. 27.

IT was with this verse that this church was formed. The words express the purpose of Christ who “loved the Church, and gave himself for it, that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word.” Into this divine purpose Thomas Shepard and his friends had entered. They had crossed the great and wide sea “for the sake of the Name.” Let me read to you his words, as we have them still in his “little booke”: “And so the Lord after many sad storms and wearisome days and many longings to see the shore, the Lord brought us to the sight of it upon Oct. 2, Anno 1635, and upon Oct. the 3d we arrived with my wife, child, brother Samuel, Mr. Harlaken-den, Mr. Cooke, etc., at Boston, with rejoicing in our God after a longsome voyage, my deare wive’s great desire being now fulfilled, which was to leave me in safety from the hands of my enemies and

among God's people, and also the child under God's precious ordinances."

Where this company would make a home they did not know. It was very convenient for them, that at the time of their coming the church which was here, in Newtown, was about to change its place. I read again from the "little booke": "Myselfe and those that came with me found many houses empty and many persons willing to sell, and here our company bought off their houses to dwell in until we should see another place fit to remoove unto, but having bin here some time diverse of our brethren did desire to sit still and not to remoove farther, partly because of the fellowship of the churches, partly because they thought their lives were short and remoovals to near plantations full of troubles, partly because they found sufficient for themselves and their company. Hereupon there was a purpose to enter into church fellowship, which we did the yeare after about the end of the winter."

On the first day of February, in the year of the Lord 1636, their desire was fulfilled. I must now read, without abridgment, the account given by a man who was undoubtedly present when this was done. In the journal of the first Governor of the Colony it is written:—

"Mr. Shepard, a godly minister, come lately out of England, and divers other good christians, intending to raise a church body, came and acquainted the magistrates therewith, who gave their approbation.

They also sent to all the neighbouring churches for their elders to give their assistance at a certain day at Newtown, when they should constitute their body. Accordingly at this day there met a great assembly, where the proceeding was as followeth.

“Mr. Shepherd and two others who were after to be chosen to office, sat together in the elders seat; then the elder of them began with prayer, after this Mr. Shepherd prayed with deep confession of sin, &c. and exercised out of Eph. v. that he might make it to himself a holy, &c. and also opened the cause of their meeting. Then the elder desired to know of the churches assembled what number were needful to make a church, and how they ought to proceed in this action. Whereupon some of the ancient ministers conferring shortly together gave answer, — That the scripture did not set down any certain rule for the number, three (they thought) were too few, because by Matt. xviii. an appeal was allowed from three, but that seven might be a fit number; and for their proceeding they advised, that such as were to join should make confession of their faith, and declare what work of grace the Lord had wrought in them, which accordingly they did, Mr. Shepherd first, then four others, then the elder and one who was to be deacon (who had also prayed) and another member; then the covenant was read, and they all gave a solemn assent to it. Then the elder desired of the churches, that if they did approve them to be a church, they would give them the right hand of fellowship. Whereupon Mr.

Cotton (upon short speech with some other near him), in the name of the churches, gave his hand to the elder, with a short speech of their assent, and desired the peace of the Lord's presence to be with them. Then Mr. Shepherd made an exhortation to the rest of his body about the nature of their covenant, and to stand firm to it, and commended them to the Lord in a most heavenly prayer. Then the elder told the assembly that they were intended to choose Mr. Shepherd for their pastor (by the name of the brother who had exercised) and desired the churches that if they had anything to except against him, they would impart it to them before the day of ordination. Then he gave the churches thanks for their assistance, and so left them to the Lord."

In this simple, reasonable, reverent manner this church entered upon a career which has already continued for two hundred and fifty years. It was the union of men and women who were of one character and purpose, and who were living together, in a covenant which expressed their devotion to Christ and their "mutual love and respect each to other," after the rational method of the New Testament, and with the approval and fellowship of the churches which were around them. The form of their covenant has not been preserved. It was probably the same with that of the First Church in Boston. That is the covenant under which we are living now. It is thought that it was written by Governor Winthrop. Concerning it and its adoption across the river, the present distinguished

representative of that name has recently said : " That old covenant is one under which any man might well be willing to live and to die. . . . Beyond all doubt, that day, that service, that covenant, settled the question that Congregationalism was to be the prevailing order, and for a long time the only order, in early New England. Nor, let me add, have I ever doubted for a moment that Congregationalism was the best and the only mode of planting and propagating Christianity in this part of the country in those old Puritan times."

" Those old Puritan times " ! What were they ? Our eminent historian has written : " Civilized New England is the child of English Puritanism. The spirit of Puritanism was no creation of the sixteenth century. It is as old as the truth and manliness of England." England was remote from Rome, and its people had another history, another language, and another temper. To the authority and tenets of the Papacy they never rendered so abject an allegiance as their neighbors on the mainland. They had been trained in the ways of liberty and manliness out of the Book which is light and life. The Bible had been given them in Saxon, and in their own tongue had been read in their churches. The Norman brought in more of the ways of Rome, but required only a divided allegiance to the southern power. " The Morning Star of the Reformation " rose over England when John Wycliffe appeared. He was born in 1324, Martin Luther in 1483. The germ of the sixteenth century was in

the fourteenth. The people were tired of the interlopers from the Continent, and the abuses which came in with them. Wycliffe taught them to hate the doctrine which they taught and represented. His writings were read by the people with such effect that it was said every other man was a Lollard. The reform of religion was in the air. Persecution, which was severe, could not silence the people, or overcome the demand for purer teaching and purer teachers. But, in any event, England could never be easy under foreign control. Henry VIII., with the consent of Parliament, made himself the "Defender of the Faith," and the Head of the Church. That was in 1534. The clergy and the people favored this change and the reforms which came with it. It was some advantage to have the Church freed from Papal control, and placed under an English King. Beyond that, little was gained by this movement. Tyranny and oppression remained very much the same. Ecclesiastical affairs were in the hands of the King and the nobility. They ruled, and the people were expected to submit. To enforce this were explicit statutes, and enough martyrdoms to prove their force. There were some who refused to submit. They demanded more than had been gained. They wanted a larger reformation. From the nature of their demand they were called Puritans. They objected to the Romish rites which had been retained, and especially to the vestments, which seemed to them a relic of the superstition which had clothed

the priest with supernatural authority and power. It was not the government to which they objected, but that which it stood for. Their sons did not throw the tea overboard because it was tea, or resist the Stamp Act because it put a bit of paper on their goods. What did the thing mean, and what did it portend? If it was a small thing to resist, it was a small thing to insist upon. It was neither, and they all knew it. Men who were eminent among the clergy protested against the remains of a system from which the Church and the land ought to be free.

I need not trace the course of events under Edward VI., and the reforms which opened prisons, destroyed images, removed altars and candles, restored preaching to its place, and put the English Bible in every church; or under Mary, who wrote her name and the record of her reign in blood. Elizabeth granted a measure of reformation, and beyond that demanded conformity,—the conformity which had been refused,—conformity to the ecclesiastical statutes and practices which, as the Puritans held, had no sanction in Scripture and no defence in reason or right. With all her might she tried to enforce her will. Clergymen were thrust from their places, and many were sent to prison for refusing to do what they could not do. The Court of High Commission was set up, and the cruelty of the English Inquisition turned against as good men, as loyal, as patriotic, as England ever knew. In Italy or Spain this might have accomplished its

intent. In England it was as powerless as the sea which battled with its cliffs. Presently men came to think that the very constitution of the Church was wrong. They compared it with the New Testament, and found no warrant for it. They soon demanded a reconstruction of the Church after the original models. But they retained the idea of a national church, independent like the nation, and, like the nation, including all the people. The steps in the progress of Puritan thought are distinctly marked. They protested against the Papal control and the men who would enforce it. Then, against Papal doctrines also. Then, against Papal usages. Finally, against the Papal theory which made the Church subordinate to the State and obliged to submit to its behest. Freed from an Italian pope, they denied the authority of an English pope, though he was their crowned king. Liberty, Reform, Purity, Religion, were their conjoined and successive words. The Puritans proposed to remain in the Church, and there to work for its improvement. To what they deemed wrong they would not conform, but they would not leave the Church. There were some who could wait no longer. They believed in "Reformation without tarrying." They withdrew from the Church, its organization and its ceremonies, and in private houses maintained worship and observed the ordinances of religion after the way which seemed to them "more excellent." They had little to guide them but the New Testament, and to that they committed themselves and

their hope. As early, perhaps, as 1567, there was "the Privye Church in London," which described itself as "a poor congregation whom God hath separated from the churches of England, and from the mingled and false worshipping therein used."

In 1568, or about that time, Robert Browne, a young man of good family, became a scholar at Corpus Christi College in Cambridge, where he was among the strongest Puritan influences. Declining a Cambridge pulpit, he was drawn to those who were "verie forward" in seeking a reform in the Church, and after months of study and prayer he joined with others of a like mind in the formation of a Church without the Church. That was, probably, in 1580, and is thought to have been the first permanent Congregational Church founded since the Apostles rested from their work of church establishment. The after career of Browne is not to his credit. He suffered, but was not improved. "Committed to thirty-two prisons, in some of which he could not see his hand at noonday," he finally deserted the cause which he had furthered, accepted a place in the Church he had renounced, fell into bad habits, and finally died, eighty years old, ten years after Separation had enthroned itself on Plymouth Rock. Charity trusts that he was insane. A sharper judgment declares that he lacked "the desperate self-respect which prompted Judas to hang himself." His name is disowned. No one consents to be called after him. But his work, in changed forms, proved better than the man. He

had worked at the beginning, and was not needed for the completion.

In 1593 Sir Walter Raleigh expressed the fear that there were nearly twenty thousand Brownists in England. But this meant resistance, oppression, cruelty. For aiding the movement many were heavily fined and imprisoned. Thacker, Copping, Barrow, Greenwood, Penry, and many others, were put to death. It was of no avail. The English blood was up. The English spirit had been fully awakened. Steadily, secretly, the work of liberty and purity moved forward. Something was hoped from James. The Puritans appealed to him for a truer Sabbath, a shorter liturgy, better music in the churches, and for ministers of uprightness, who should combine ability, fidelity, and integrity. The King granted them an interview at Hampton Court, and replied to them in terms which they could understand. "If this be all your party have to say, I will make them conform, or I will harry them out of this land, or else worse." That was in 1604. He could bluster, if he was a fool. He could be cruel. "I hear our new King hath hanged one man before he was tried. 'Tis strangely done." Reform seemed more distant than ever. There was nothing good to be looked for in England. Was there any hope beyond its shores? Some thought so, and crossed to the Low Countries. Some concealed themselves and waited. The Separatists remained separate. They were not the adherents of Browne, who had long before gone

back to the place from which, for a little, he had emerged, nor should his ill-omened name be affixed to them. They had their own teachers, and over the open Bible were doing their own thinking, and standing to it. One of their congregations was in Nottinghamshire, in the village of Scrooby. The story of that company of freemen is familiar: the names of Clyfton, Robinson, Brewster, Bradford, the removal to Amsterdam and Leyden, and finally the voyage across the wider sea, where they found a sanctuary and a home. It was a brave history to make, and well do they deserve the world's homage who made it.

Yet in 1620 only a few of the Puritans were Pilgrims. But their principles were growing. The contests with James during his troubled reign increased the force of the people as against the demands of the King. The spirit of men had grown bolder, and their thoughts had gone deeper into the reason of things. Four years before James disappeared, the Court of High Commission had renewed its tyranny, and the Puritans were again made to feel its cruelty. The minds of many looked far into the West. Buckingham sought to beguile men whom he could not suppress, and hindered their action by the hopes he created. By degrees they came to see that all this meant nothing. More and more there was talk of making a new England. John White, rector of Trinity Church in Dorchester, on the Channel, proposed to the ship-owners to found a settlement on these shores, that the sailors who came here

might have a home when they were not at sea, and that their spiritual interests might be cared for when they were far from the churches. Not very much came of the project, which perhaps meant more than was avowed. Soon men of means were planning a colony here. They obtained the charter under which Massachusetts lived for fifty-five years, and other ships sailed "into the West as the sun went down." Naumkeag was settled and became Salem. The charter said nothing of religious liberty. It is probable that the colonists knew they could secure it by sailing westward three thousand miles, and that the government thought it could be prevented however far away. Four weeks from the arrival at Naumkeag, the colonists gathered themselves into a church, assenting to a covenant and ordaining their minister. It does not appear that they had intended to leave the Church of England. But they had come "to practise the positive part of church reformation, and propagate the Gospel in America." It was almost inevitable, it was certainly desirable, that they should become a Congregational church. They were qualified for it and called unto it. They appear to have contemplated this, at least, and to have provided for it. One who has searched among their goods has written that the Book of Common Prayer "seems to have been as rare here as the holly and the mistletoe." They were back at the beginning of things, where there was only one book.

The spirit of purity and liberty continued to move in England. In 1629 John Winthrop and eleven

others entered into an agreement at Cambridge, "in the word of a Christian and in the presence of God, . . . to inhabit and continue in New England." They brought their charter, and with it the government of the colony, when they came in the *Arbella* to Salem in 1630. Before the winter of that year seventeen vessels had crossed from the old world to the new, and a thousand persons had come in them. With the arrival of Winthrop and his company came the establishment of another Congregational church, which was to be the centre of their life. The church was at Charlestown, and was afterwards the First Church in Boston, in whose house the old covenant can now be read, where it glows in the window.

It was necessary that the colony should have the means and ways of livelihood. It must have a substantial basis. There must be money, business, commercial relations, a secure financial support. For this discreet provision was made. But these things were merely incidental. They had not come to make money. John Winthrop, the first Governor here, has left us his record of the reasons which justified this undertaking: "It will be a service to the Church of great consequence to carry the Gospel into those parts of the world." "All other churches of Europe are brought to desolation." "The whole earth is the Lord's garden." "The ffountains of Learning & Religion are soe corrupted as most children are perverted." "What can be a better worke, & more honorable & worthy a Chris-

tian, then to helpe raise & supporte a particular Church while it is in the Infancy, & to joyne his forces wth such a company of faithfull people, as by a timely assistance may growe stronge & prosper." "It appeares to be a worke of God for the good of his Church, in that he hath disposed the hartes of soe many of his wise & faithfull servants, both ministers & others, not onely to approve of the enterprise but to interest themselves in it, some in their persons & estates, other by their serious advise & helpe otherwise, & all by their praiers for the wealfare of it."

Who were the people who came to found these settlements? Many were of the substantial middle class of England, possessing the virtues of Englishmen, strengthened by the free spirit which was the glory of their time, and has proved its renown. Concerning the leaders in the Puritan cause I can use no better words than Dr. Palfrey's: "The Puritanism of the first forty years of the seventeenth century was not tainted with degrading or ungraceful associations of any sort. The rank, the wealth, the chivalry, the genius, the learning, the accomplishments, the social refinements and elegance of the time, were largely represented in its ranks." "The leading emigrants to Massachusetts were of that brotherhood of men who, by force of social consideration as well as of intelligence and resolute patriotism, moulded the public opinion and action of England in the first half of the seventeenth century." The Puritans read the Bible and obeyed it. Reason

and conscience bowed to its authority. They sought to fashion their personal and public life by a rigid application of its words. But "in politics the Puritan was the Liberal of his day." By as much as he asserted the principle of obedience towards God, did he set bounds to the authority of men, and assert the supremacy of the manhood which he held under his charter as a child of God, belonging to his kingdom. It was freedom in obedience which he cherished. He had the independence of the planet, which claims a large orbit, but never dreams of breaking from the central sun. I am glad to close this account of the Puritans with the words of one who by integrity and liberty belonged with those who helped to lay the foundation of this house for a Puritan church, and who delighted to worship in it: "They will live in history, as they have lived, the very embodiment of a noble devotion to the principles which induced them to establish a colony, to be 'so religiously, peaceably, and civilly governed,' as thereby to incite the very heathen to embrace the principles of Christianity."

I have thought it best to trace again the rise and advance of the Puritan movement, that we might know how it came to pass, and what it meant, that this church was established here, two hundred and fifty years ago. For it was as a part of a great enterprise that this church was founded. Its history is a page in the history of the times which we have been reviewing. It is not till we mark its place that we know its meaning.

Into this illustrious assertion and maintenance of purity and liberty Thomas Shepard was born. James I. had been two years the king. "In the yeare of Christ 1605, upon the 5 day of November, called the Powder treason day, & that very houre of the day wherein the Parlament should have bin blown up by Popish priests, I was then borne." The father's consternation at the plot was expressed in the name which he gave his son. William Shepard, like the father of John Harvard, was a tradesman. He was apprenticed to a grocer, one of whose daughters he married. He was prosperous in his business, and "toward his latter end much blessed of God in his estate and in his soule." He "was a wise prudent man, the peacemaker of the place." As there was no good preaching in Towcester, he removed to Banbury that he and his household might be "under a stirring ministry." The boy was very early separated from his home and exposed to much hardship. His mother died when he was four. His stepmother treated him harshly, and a Welshman who kept a free school in Towcester was extremely cruel to him. He used to wish that he was a keeper of beasts rather than a schoolboy. His father died when he was ten, and an elder brother became both father and mother to him. The love of his mother for this her youngest child had been exceedingly great. Long afterwards he wrote of this to his own son, and remembered that she "made many prayers for me." He remembered, too, his own strong and hearty prayers for his father's life, and the covenant

with which he sealed his entreaties, "as knowing I should be left alone if he was gone." With these early religious impressions upon him, he came under a better teacher, who awakened his desire to be a scholar. At fourteen, though "very raw and young," he was admitted a pensioner at Emmanuel College. Here he found new perils. He became proud of his attainments, neglected his religious duties, and strayed into bad company and evil ways. He felt remorse and shame, as was natural, but it was the searching preaching of the master of the college which persuaded him to seek a better life. The way was not easy, but at length "the Lord gave me a heart to receive Christ."

The Puritans were strong and vigilant in Cambridge and he felt their influence. He left college with a high reputation for scholarship and with the honors of the University, and with new purposes and desires. His life was beginning. But what should he do next? He had been under Puritan training from his boyhood onward. He received deacon's orders in the Established Church, but not without scruple, and was appointed a lecturer. This was a Puritan office, designed to furnish preachers where there was no proper ministry. The appointment was for three years. In the town to which he was sent he could find but one man who had any godliness. But his labor was rewarded, especially in the chief house, where he won to himself his steadfast friend, Roger Harlakenden, whose mortal part was afterwards laid in the old burying-ground yonder.

The young minister was not allowed to do his work in peace. He was charged with being "a non-conformable man, when for the most of that time I was not resolved either way." After his three years, and a little more, had expired, he was summoned before Laud, the Bishop of London,— "our great enemy," Winthrop calls him. The Bishop was more angry than was becoming to his sacred office, and his sentence was more explicit than paternal: "I charge you that you neither preach, read, marry, bury, or exercise any ministerial functions in any part of my Diocess; for if you do, and I hear of it, I'll be upon your back and follow you wherever you go, in any part of this kingdom, and so everlastingly disenable you." This far-reaching denunciation was fitted to have some effect in one direction or the other upon the "prating coxcomb." With the King harrying him and the Bishop upon his back, the young preacher must either move or fall. Trained through his boyhood and his youth, at his father's house and the college, in a Puritan school, they were now driving him into the Pilgrim university, the large and open world. The Puritan made haste slowly: it was a trait of his character. But the Puritan did not go backward or sidewise. In this Thomas Shepard was a Puritan. He spent a few months with the Harlakendens, while his spirit burned within him as he saw more clearly "into the evil of the English ceremonies, crosse, surplice and kneeling." Then the Bishop "fired me out of this place." He accepted an invitation to Yorkshire reluctantly, though glad to

get away from Laud. He became chaplain to the family of Sir Richard Darley, where he was kindly treated,—very kindly, inasmuch as the knight's kinswoman became his wife, with the consent of the household whom he had made his friends. She was our first Margaret Shepard.

But another ecclesiastic showed a desire to get rid of him, and he came to Northumberland, where he might preach in peace, “being far from any bishops.” There his study and thought made him more discontented with the character and condition of the Church to which he still belonged. He removed again, and was silenced again. Then he “preached up and down in the country, and at last privately in Mr. Fenwick’s house.” While he was thus being loosed from church and country, divers friends in New England asked him to come over to them, and many in Old England desired him to go, and promised to accompany him. He resolved to accede to these requests. His reasons are on record in his “little booke.” He saw no call to any other place in Old England. The Lord seemed to have departed from England when Mr. Hooker and Mr. Cotton were gone, and the hearts of most of the godly were set and bent that way. He was convinced of the evils in the English Church. “I saw no reason to spend my time privately when I might possibly exercise my talent publikely in N. E.” “My dear wife did much long to see me settled there in peace and so put me on to it.” He sailed with his wife and child late in the year 1634. They encoun-

tered a violent storm, and were nearly lost. But with difficulty they reached the land again. Then his child died, and the stricken father dared not be present at the burial, lest he should be arrested. He wondered if he was resisting the will of God. He feared that he had gone too far in separating from the "Assemblies in England." He spent the winter in Norfolk, with his expenses defrayed by Roger Harlakenden. He could not preach in public, but he was busy with his pen, writing what we can read to-day. In the spring he went up to London, where he evaded the officers for a time. It became clear to him that he should come to New England, and in August he sailed once more, with his wife and a second son, his brother, Harlakenden, and other precious friends. It was in the ship *Defence*, "very rotten and unfit for such a voyage." There were fears that they might be forced to put back. But through many storms they were carried safely, and on the 3d of October, 1635, they reached Boston harbor, and received a loving welcome from many friends. On the second day after their arrival, Shepard and his family came over to Newtown, where he found Hooker and Stone, whom he had known in England. In the following February this church was organized, as we have already seen.

We are much favored in having the Autobiography of our first minister, wherein there is so full an account of the private and inner life, as well as the public career and experience, of this representative man. We can see into the soul and through the

life of a young Puritan minister, and know from the one what the many felt, suffered, dared, and wrought out with courage and endurance. The man is in the pages over which his fingers moved. I know of no other Puritan book in which you can so plainly feel the warm blood, as with all its ache and hope it sent its currents up and down the life.

The new comers enjoyed for some months the society of the good people who had been here since 1632 and 1633, and were about to seek the wilds of Connecticut. Very pleasant must that intercourse have been. I think that we can see why Shepard was so long delayed in England. He needed the discipline and education which he gained in the years of his waiting. But besides that, his arrival here was so timed that he could take up the work which Hooker was laying down, and the new church could enter into the place out of which the old was called.

The Shepard company numbered some sixty persons, as nearly as I can determine, and they at once entered into public affairs. When the selectmen were chosen, very soon after their coming, the first name on the list was Mr. Roger Harlakenden. A few of the old families remained when their neighbors had gone, but the town passed into new hands, and a new church established itself in the meeting-house. There were strong men in that temple: men of large heart, of vigorous mind, with a robust conscience and an inviolate purpose. They gave themselves to the beginnings of church and state in a

new world, knowing how well they builded. They and their neighbors had walked with scholars. The Bible which is now in our churches was first printed in 1611. Shakespeare died in 1616, Bacon in 1626, Herbert in 1632. They made books, though their work was less to create a literature than to found a church which would be the patron of letters, and would train a people to read and think, and in due time to write. Between 1630 and 1647 nearly a hundred university men joined this colony. Of these a good share came to our side of the river. What can we say better than that here the College at once followed the Church? Before this year closes we shall read again that famous page in Cambridge history. But even now we may tell with honest pride why the College was "appointed to be at Cambridge." One writes that this was "a place very pleasant and accommodate." Another: "They chose this place, being then under the Orthodox and soul-flourishing ministry of Mr. Thomas Shepard." Another: "It was with a respect unto the enlightening and powerful ministry of Mr. Shepard, that when the foundation of a colledge was to be laid, Cambridge, rather than any other place, was pitched upon to be the seat of that happy seminary." Newtown was called Cambridge, but the river did not exchange its royal for the classic name.

It is instructive to gather up the testimony of his time regarding our first minister. He was thirty years old when the church was formed. We have one picture of his appearance in the words of a

stranger who listened to him, and described him as "a poore, weake, pale-complectioned man." From the same hand we have an account of the preaching. The man heard the sound of a drum which called people to the meeting, and resolved to hear Shepard preach. "Then hasting thither hee croudeth through the thickest, where having stayed while the glasse was turned up twice, the man was metamorphosed, and was fain to hang down his head often, lest his watry eyes should blab abroad the secret conjunction of his affections." The preacher was able, by the Spirit of the Lord, "to take such impression in his soule . . . as if he had beene his Privy Counsellor." There is abundant testimony to the power of his preaching. Language almost beggars itself in the attempt to describe him, — "the holy, heavenly, sweet-affecting and soul-ravishing minister," "this soul-melting preacher," "that gracious, sweet, heavenly-minded and soul-ravishing minister, in whose soul the Lord shed abroad his love so abundantly that thousands of souls have cause to bless God for him." His successor in house and parish, the matchless Mitchel, said of the influence of Shepard upon him while he was in college: "Unless it had been four years living in heaven, I know not how I could have more cause to bless God with wonder than for those four years." He was the minister here for thirteen years. During all the time the church was in its first meeting-house. The new house was rising beside his dwelling when the voice ceased in the "silver trumpet,

from whence the people had often heard the joyful sound."

"His name and office sweetly did agree :
Shepard, by name, and in his ministry."

"Oh Christ, why dost thou Shepherd take away,
In erring times when sheepe most apt to stray?"

They who had honored and loved him carried out the form which had been overmuch tossed about on land and sea, and laid it to its rest in their God's-acre. The stone they placed above it has disappeared, and no man knows where the grave was. He has no monument, save this tablet in the wall, and the stone in the city cemetery which bears his name and the names of those who have followed him through this ministry into the glory beyond. But he has many memorials: his name is on this house and on the society which holds it for the church. It is on school-house and street. It is in the influence of his life, which has remained and renewed itself in the two centuries since he went up on high. He left his "best silver tankard" to his son Thomas, but with his own hand he wrote the lines, the draft upon the future and God's providence, which brought to his church the tankards and the cups with which we still keep the sacrament he loved and renew the covenant in which he lived. He gave his velvet cloak to his beloved friend, Samuel Danforth. But he left his affection and his charity, his faith and his devotion, his truth and his spirit, to the church which he baptized in

its infancy, and trained in its youth for a manhood which should know the power of an endless life, that through all our generations we might be covered with the strength and beauty of his character and service. He is entitled to the reverence which we render to him now. Increasing years can only increase the honor in which his name is held.

He was well born. He was trained in hardship for a work which was to be hard. He came by slow and prudent steps to the high ground on which he stood to make up his life. He believed before he spoke. He felt before he sought to make others feel. In a deep experience he found the truth which he read, and in the force of what he had proved he preached. He had the earnestness which attends personal conviction and assurance. He healed himself and then longed to heal others. He believed in the Saviour because he had himself been saved.

Yet he did not rest in what he had gained. He was a studious man. He took great pains in preparing himself before he would address his people. He stored his mind, and gave himself time on Saturday afternoon to "get his heart into a frame fit for the approaching Sabbath." The report has come down that he rarely preached a sermon but that some one, stirred by his teaching and appeal, cried out, "What must I do to be saved?"

He was in a position in which his influence would be widely felt. There were men of mark in his congregation, through whom his words would reach far beyond the walls of the humble sanctuary. He

had offered in himself and his ministry an attraction to the new College upon which so much depended, in which was invested so much of sacrifice and hope, and he fulfilled the desires of those who had trusted in him. He was a founder, an overseer, and a friend. Out of this happy seminary, one has written, "there proceeded many notable preachers, who were made such very much by their sitting under Mr. Shepard's enlightening and powerful ministry." Henry Dunster, the first President, was then a member of this church, and among the students were three men who were afterwards Presidents of the College, and William Hubbard, Samuel Mather, William Ames, Samuel Phillips, and Jonathan Mitchel, — strong men, prominent and useful in Church and State. All of his sons who lived to manhood became ministers, and rendered high service in their calling. If we could trace all the influence of Mr. Shepard upon individuals, we should enhance the respect in which we hold him.

Not alone in his spoken words was he a teacher of men. "He left behind him divers worthy works." His books show his learning, the acuteness of his reason, the fertility of his imagination, the depth of his sincerity. The master-mind of Jonathan Edwards drew very largely from Thomas Shepard in illustration of the Religious Affections. His writings are substantial and interesting, even in these days of books. They gained high commendation. They will always be worth reading. We might learn from him the true nature of the Sabbath, and

gain a spiritual idea of heaven, and derive many another lesson in practical life. The three solid volumes which now bear his name are entitled to a place where the scholar and the Christian sit among their teachers.

But his work was even broader than this. "By his death," says the old chronicle, "all New England sustained a very great loss." He was a good counsellor. The churches had a strong guardian in him, and there were times when his judgment and sagacity and firmness were needed. Against those who would disturb and imperil the churches he was vigilant and bold. The synod which put down the Antinomians and Ann Hutchinson met with this church, and was opened with one of his heavenly prayers. Here met, too, the famous synod of Timothy and Chrysostoms and Augustines, as Higginson called them, by which was formed the "Cambridge Platform," upon whose broad principles our churches have so long been established. In this foundation work Mr. Shepard had been engaged before, and he brought his wisdom to the orderly deliberation of the wise men who gathered in our meeting-house, the new "Jerusalem Chamber." He was a most useful man, as minister and citizen. He did not forget that the missionary spirit and intention marked the coming of the Puritans to these shores. They saw around them the people into whose country they were entering, people without the knowledge which they believed to be indispensable to a good life in this world or any other, and they held it both

a duty and a privilege to give what they had themselves inherited, what their fathers had received from the hands of strangers. They began at once, in a simple way, to teach the principles of religion. In 1644 the General Court passed an order providing for the instruction of the Indians "in the knowledge and worship of God." Here was the first Protestant missionary society. John Eliot of Roxbury became the Apostle to the Indians. In closest fellowship with him was Thomas Shepard. Eliot's first missionary station was in Cambridge, at Nonantum, where an Indian church was organized in 1651. Shepard could not preach in the Indian tongue, but he wrote tracts which Eliot translated, and he furthered in many ways the enterprise which was after his own heart. In 1647 we find him at Yarmouth, a member of a council which healed a sad breach in a "bruised church," at once, with his friend Eliot, taking advantage of the time for "speaking with and preaching to the poor Indians in these remote places about Cape Cod." In the same year he sent to London a long tract, entitled, "The Clear Sunshine of the Gospel Breaking forth upon the Indians in New England." The efforts of Eliot, Shepard, Dunster, Gookin, and other men, and the generous provision of the College in behalf of the Indians, make a bright page in the history of those earnest and hopeful days. The name of "Caleb Cheeshahteumuck, Indus," starred the year after his graduation, has a lonesome and pathetic look in the College Catalogue. But it

is the sign of a generous purpose, more fully realized in the many Indians who, in the sunshine which illumined this church, beheld the Light of the world.

It is plain that Thomas Shepard was a man of large industry, of broad sympathies, of learning, ability, devotion, piety, — who made his short life long by fidelity, brought the training of the old world to the service of the new, and used his knowledge of the ways of God for the largest good of man. A good summary of his life is found in his own question and answer: "What is the best and last end of man? — To live to God."

He was a man raised up of God for his day and for his work. He fulfilled his course. But he had illustrious associates, and his life ran in the deep channels which God had cut through the rocks. He shared in the grandeur of the cause, a part of which he was. The triumph of the cause is the pæan of the soldier. A boulder from the mountains of Switzerland marks the grave of Agassiz at Mount Auburn. A stone from the heart of the Puritan heights of the two Englands should stand at the grave of Shepard.

But no account of our first minister should fail to make full recognition of those who shared and enriched and guided his life. To Margaret Shepard we owe a continual thankfulness. She was, indeed, a wife "fitted for me; . . . a most sweet, humble woman, full of Christ, and a very discerning Christian; a wife who was most incomparably

loving to me, and every way amiable and holy, and endued with a very sweet spirit of prayer." It was a painful life which she had while they were driven from place to place. It was a brave thing which she did when she urged him to seek another country. It was a stout heart which kept its patience and faith through shipwreck and hardship. Unspeakable was her joy and assurance when in her chamber she entered into covenant with the new church, from which she was so soon to be translated. Not the least of the things which we admire in the young minister is the tenderness with which he speaks of "My deare wife Margaret." Nearly two years afterward he brought back to Cambridge and into his own home the eldest daughter of Thomas Hooker. Again was he blessed with one who could adorn and assist his life: "She was a woman of incomparable meekness of spirit, . . . of great prudence to take care for and order my family affayres. . . . She loved God's people dearly. . . . She loved God's word exceedingly. . . . When she knew none else so as to speake to them, yet she knew Jesus Xt. and could speake to him." After eight years and a half of this wedded joy and helpfulness, he was again left alone. In 1647 he once more married. Again there was a Margaret Shepard. But not for long. The call was next for him. But so excellent she was, that in due time, amid the rejoicing of the parishioners and the songs of students, she became Margaret Mitchel. Let us honor the women who

helped to make the young church what it was, and whose influence is still upon us and our house. In every generation, as in this, there have been daughters worthy of the mothers.

In the commemoration of this time our minds are at the beginning. Here, therefore, I pause, with the name of Thomas Shepard in our ears, and the man in our hearts. I shall not tell again the story of our church since he ascended from its pastorate. It has been said and written. The work of the Puritans was faithfully carried forward in the New England. In their freedom they kept their integrity, and achieved here what they had designed there. There was no change of purpose. Meridians are on the map, not on the earth; men draw them, God leaves the surface whole. The original intent, which had grown in breadth as it had multiplied its years, went steadily onward in its purchased opportunity. In this purpose and movement this Puritan church bore its part, vigorously and prominently. In this large way our history must be read. A late historian in England, whose pen has rested too soon, has written with his accustomed carefulness, that "the history of English progress since the Restoration, on its moral and spiritual sides, has been the history of Puritanism." That history has been made in both Englands. The principles and methods of the beginning remain. We seek the same end by the same way. The Bible, the Church, the Sabbath, the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, have still our reverent confi-

dence. The commandments and promises are still in our hearts, the staple of our thoughts, the warp and woof of our word and work. Ten men have succeeded the first minister. Five sanctuaries have followed that in which the church first assembled. The sixty are now six hundred; but three thousand men and women have belonged to this household of the ancient faith. The record of these busy years is written in human lives, and far beyond our gates. The record is on high, increasing "with the process of the suns." This is no place for boasting. But we who are here to-day may gratefully believe and say that this church has done a good work, has kept faith with its founders, has carried forward their designs, has widened their thought and enlarged their endeavors, and that with augmented power and purpose it looks down the opening centuries.

I turn back to those into whose labors we have entered, to repeat the words of the saintly man who for forty years was our minister, and to include him and the two who came after him in the ascription wherewith he greeted those who had been before him: "It becomes us, then, my brethren of this generation, to rise up to-day and call them blessed." It is a fine history which is behind us. The career of this church is one of which we who review its two hundred and fifty years may be thankful and proud. We who have come so late into its work may justly claim that few churches have made a more honorable record. We should be glad that

we are connected with such a church as this, with such a history, and such men at every stage of it, with such length of days, with such a part in the life of the town which has grown about it, and such a share in the advance of the Commonwealth over whose birth and infancy it watched in love and prayer,—in such essential union with the grand advance of Liberty and Purity among all who speak our English tongue. It is cause for giving God thanks, that one is permitted to write his name underneath the ten who have been the ministers of this church. Of all its pastors, but one has ever left it that he might be the minister of another people. It is a church which deserves the loyalty of all who belong to it or grow up in its nurture. It has proved itself worthy of our steadfastness, devotion, generosity, affection. Its stability should be our stability, and firmness of character should be fostered by firmness of allegiance. The reason of it, its origin, its history, its work, should be known by all of us, and taught to our sons and our sons' sons. The years are before us. The making of them is in our hands. All the memories inspire us. Our history is strength. Our opportunity is incentive. The day is rich in hope. As we stand around the name of Thomas Shepard, let us join our hands and make strong our hearts, while we lift up our voices with his, and make our prayer to Him who "loved the Church, and gave himself for it; that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word, that he might present

it to himself a glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing; but that it should be holy and without blemish."

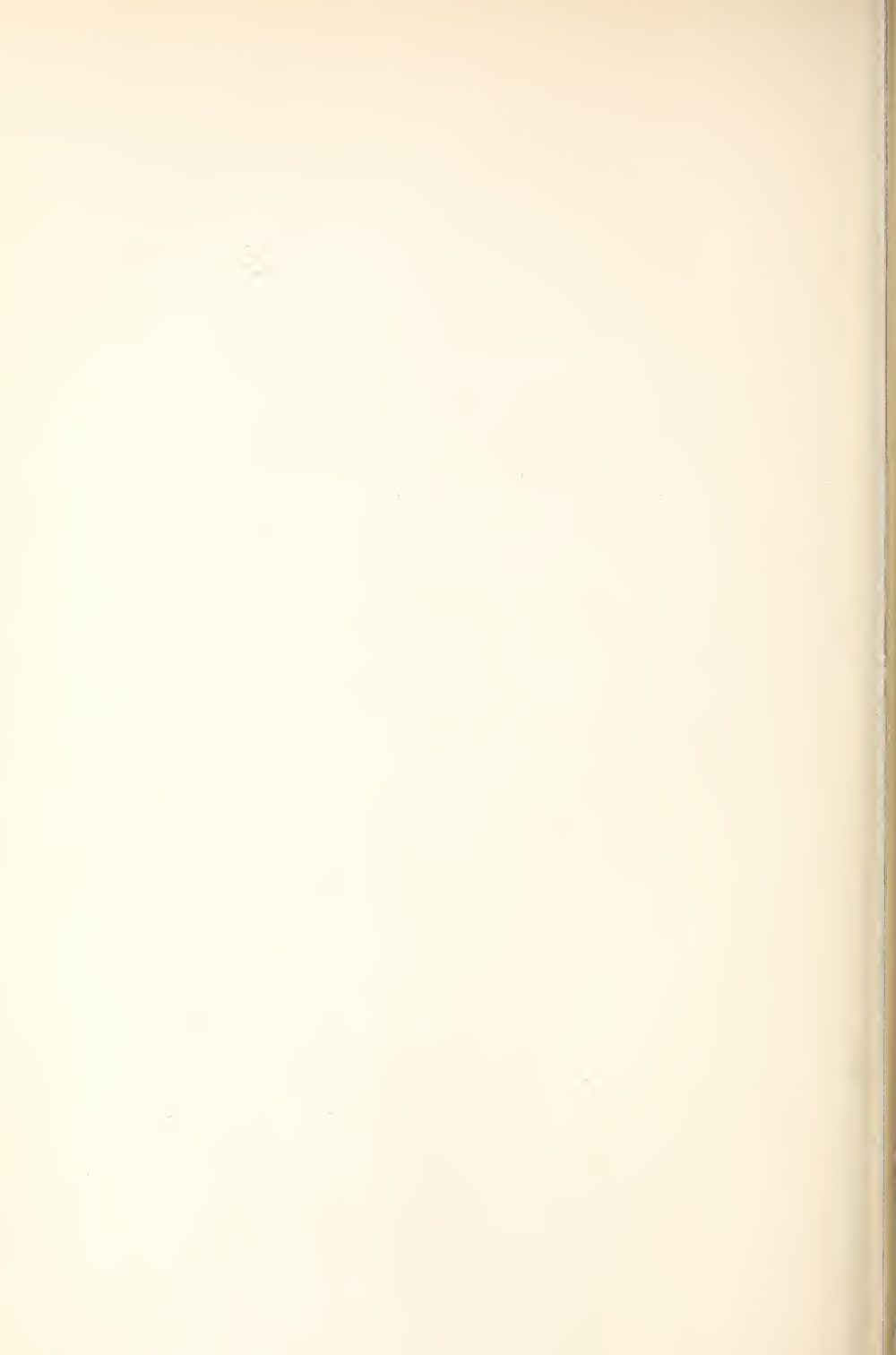
In that divine purpose we rejoice, while we rise to its fulfilment, even here upon the earth; and here, on this hallowed ground, in sure anticipation of the day which is to come, when the Church, enlarged and glorified,

" Shall be
Triumphant in the sky."

ADDRESSES

IN THE

FIRST PARISH CHURCH.



Afternoon Service

IN THE

FIRST PARISH CHURCH.

INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS.

BY HON. CHARLES THEODORE RUSSELL.

SPEAKING beside Plymouth Rock in 1820, Mr. Webster said: "Let us not forget the religious character of our origin. Our fathers were brought here by their high veneration for the Christian religion. They journeyed by its light and labored in its hope. They sought to incorporate its principles with the elements of their society, and to diffuse its influence through all their institutions, civil, political, or literary. Let us cherish these sentiments."

Inspired by these sentiments, never more tersely and fittingly expressed, responding to these grateful and pious injunctions, we, the children of the fathers, have met to commemorate an act of theirs, apostolic in character, simple in form, sublimely grand and far-reaching in result. Two hundred and fifty years

ago there gathered here, in the "New towne," almost within "the sounding aisles of the dim woods," a notable body of Christians, statesmen, and scholars. They asserted no title beyond that of conscientious followers of the meek and lowly Jesus. But they called no man master. In the faith and light revealed to them in the Word of God, they came together in Christian equality, with due and appropriate form and order, by prayer and mutual covenant, unitedly to consecrate themselves to the service of their Maker.

How they accomplished their purpose I can best state in the words of Governor Winthrop: "Mr. Shepherd, a godly minister, come lately out of England, and divers other good Christians, intending to raise a church body, came and acquainted the magistrates therewith, who gave their approbation. They also sent to all the neighboring churches for their elders to give their assistance, at a certain day, at Newtown, when they should constitute their body. Accordingly at this day there met a great assembly, where the proceeding was as followeth:—

"Mr. Shepherd and two others (who were after to be chosen to office) sat together in the elders' seat. Then the elder of them began with prayer. After this Mr. Shepherd prayed with deep confession of sin, etc., and exercised out of Ephesians v. that he might make it to himself a holy, etc.; and also opened the cause of their meeting, etc. Then the elder desired to know of the churches assem-

bled, what number were needful to make a church, and how they ought to proceed in this action. Whereupon some of the ancient ministers, conferring shortly together, gave answer: That the Scripture did not set down any certain rule for the number. Three, they thought, were too few, because, by Matthew xviii., an appeal was allowed from three; but that seven might be a fit number. And, for their proceeding, they advised that such as were to join should make confession of their faith, and declare what work of grace the Lord had wrought in them, which accordingly they did. Mr. Shepherd first, then four others, then the elder, and one who was to be a deacon (who had also prayed), and another member. Then the covenant was read, and they all gave a solemn assent to it. Then the elder desired of the churches that if they did approve them to be a church they would give them the right hand of fellowship. Whereupon Mr. Cotton (upon short speech with some others near him), in the name of their churches, gave his hand to the elder, with a short speech of their assent, and desired the peace of the Lord Jesus to be with them. Then Mr. Shepherd made an exhortation to the rest of his body about the nature of their covenant, and to stand firm to it, and commended them to the Lord in a most heavenly prayer."

With this simple statement of the event, the commemoration of which has brought us here, my duty ends. It is for others whom you have selected to trace its evolution, estimate its influence, and

declare its results. And yet I shall hardly meet my whole introductory duty if I do not allude to one later incident in the church's history which gives shape to our celebration to-day. For nearly two centuries the current of this history ran smooth and full, until dark clouds arose, the rains descended, and the floods came, and the swollen and angry waters found peace only in two channels, each of which claimed to be the genuine, original stream.

In 1829 the theological and somewhat intolerant discussions and divisions which agitated and distressed our New England churches reached this ancient church and parish, and culminated in conflicts and separations of no little bitterness.

I do not care to enter at all upon the history of this sad controversy. It is enough to say that, however much we may deprecate its asperities or intolerance, we must ever respect the deep and earnest convictions under which it became inevitable, and the manly courage with which all its exigencies were met.

To-day we look back upon it through the mellowing influences of a half-century, and a more tolerant spirit, as the sun looks upon the ocean, to draw from it and spread abroad whatever is sweet, pure, and wholesome, while it leaves all that is salt and bitter in the depths below. In the words of Lord Macaulay, we believe "it is now time for us to pay a decent, a rational, a manly reverence to our ancestors, not by superstitiously adhering to what

they in other circumstances did, but by doing what they in our circumstances would have done."

To-day we meet, not in organic union or in doctrinal or dogmatic agreement, but in mutual charity and love; the two branches, each jealous of its rights and privileges, in joint convention assembled, for the special and grateful purpose of recognizing and honoring our common ancestry. In this we abate no jot or tittle of our respect for those earnest and conscientious men and women whose action of a half-century ago we may almost seem to reverse. If we write over the first or later pages of our history, "Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven," we shall not detract from its glory, or its consistency, if we inscribe its last page to-day with "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God."

And so I bid you welcome, from whatever church you come, to our festival to-day. Come, and come all, and help us each, that in all its exercises it may be high and holy; in its influences sweet, loving, and hallowed; in its results blessed of God.

ADDRESS.

BY REV. ALEXANDER MCKENZIE, D.D.

MR. PRESIDENT, BRETHREN AND FRIENDS :

ONCE before I have spoken in this house. It was in response to the Latin summons of President Walker, and to his expectation of an Oration *in lingua vernacula*. The theme of that Commencement keeps itself before me to-day. "The rationale of success" was found by the men whose success we now commemorate. It consisted in the men. The distinguished banker whose character has recently been the subject of sincere eulogy said, "I am not in the habit of being connected with things that fail." That meant more than discernment; it implied the habit of not letting things fail. That was a trait of the Puritan character; it was strongly marked through the endeavor which created that name. If the spirit of Puritanism is "as old as the truth and manliness of England," the enterprise is accounted for and its result explained. English manhood, renouncing foreign control, asserted itself and refused to fail. It was by no single step that these men reached the high ground upon which they built

their house. The spirit which was in them had moved forward steadily, but with the deliberation which made it unnecessary to recede. The love of liberty and right, the courage and heroism, the fondness for adventure, the passion for progress, the faith in man, — the traits which had been displayed in many a contest with a king and many a battle with a stranger, — retained their life and were the dominant forces. I have not said the fear of God, for that encompassed and controlled their thought and action. England should be proud that she reared such sons. They should be grateful that they grew up in her nurture. The story of our inheritance has been written by the hand of our townsman in the glass which looks down the long aisle of St. Margaret's, hard by the monuments of men whose fame is our possession, —

“The New World's sons, from England's breasts we drew
Such milk as bids remember whence we came.
Proud of her Past, wherefrom our Present grew,
This window we inscribe with Raleigh's name.”

It is instructive to mark the sturdy advance of the Puritan's thought and purpose. With everything he gained, or failed to gain, he demanded more. He changed nothing which he had said; he had no plan for compromise. What he learned he remembered, and he learned something more which he added to it. He protested against men, tenets, usages, and the constitution of things to which these belonged. Holding fast to his desires, he

determined on seeking a country, making a country, where he could have what he had said that he must have. He had all his thinking in his hand when he pushed off from the Old England to the New England.

The same gradual advance of knowledge and intention is found in the man who is first in our minds in these services. In his boyhood he learned the alphabet of Puritanism. In his birthday, and the associations with it which he was not allowed to forget, was the augury of his career. Puritanism trained him in his homeless childhood, taught him in the University, repeated its lessons one by one, setting them in his retentive memory, till he had become such a man that those who knew him best thought him worthy of a place in the better England where he should teach what he had been taught. The confidence of men like Roger Harlakenden and John Bridge in the learning and character of this young Puritan, not thirty years old, is strong testimony to his excellence. Laud and the others had thought him worth silencing. Those who knew him better broke his silence, and changed one who might have been a priest into a prophet. He became a leader of men, a master-builder.

There is something sublime in the little company assembled two hundred and fifty years ago in the rude sanctuary of Newtown. They stood among their augmented purposes, making their common confession and covenant. Their cause had not failed; they had attained to that which they had

sought. They had graduated from school, and were setting their education to its destined uses. The beginning of all which was to be was within that narrow room. Expansion, application, were to come; but they had learned the elements of the highest learning. It was a new day; but they had not broken with the past. The great names of antiquity were theirs; they read the old books which we are studying; the stories of ancient heroism were familiar. From the centuries that are hardly farther from us than from them, we are drawing little which they had not secured. Name the large events of the world's life, and see how few of them belong in our modern times. English history was their own; they had been born into it. By look and language they were Englishmen, and in mind and heart. They knew what we know. They retained, not all they would have liked, but all they needed. A short voyage, seven or eight weeks, would carry them to royal palaces and universities and to the newly made graves of scholars and heroes. The small ships which brought them here were large enough to bring the choicest treasures of English life. The best things can be transported. Three thousand miles of water need not break the continuity of a substantial thought or a substantial truth. There was rare wealth in that gathering on that February day.

It had been brought into a large and fruitful place. One who was here about 1634 has left us his impression in words but recently given to us: —

"Whatsoever the earth in England or France doth either nourish or produce, though it may not at this present be found in New England, yet being transported or planted will thrive and grow there to more than an ordinary perfection."

This was promising so far as grain and grapes were concerned. The peril was that it might prove a land where all kinds of opinions would grow as well as all kinds of grasses. That danger was soon upon them, and was averted with a strong hand, — too strong, we may think who are enjoying what they created and defended. But the peril was great. To them it was far more serious than it can seem to us. They had become exiles for a definite purpose, and had bought at a heavy price all which they possessed. Dissension meant destruction, and they struck it down. It was a time when men wore no gloves. A man does strike hard when it is for his home and country. They had not desired a land where everybody could have his own way, but where they could have their way, which they accounted God's way. It might well be that others should believe differently, and desire other ends by other means. For all such persons the world was open; the fair fields of Narragansett were at the south, and there were broad forests at the north. They asked but a little place, a narrow strip along the unplanted sea. Why should they not possess in quietness what it had been so hard to get? There are pages in our early history which we read in sadness; they were written in tears. But never had the early

annals of a great people so little which must be regretted, so few things which grateful descendants could not readily forget. Beside the British and Continental history of their times, the record of the New England Puritans is an unsullied scroll.

They were safely here, but their work was only begun. All their manhood was needed for the task they had undertaken. William Wood wrote in 1634: "He must have more than a boy's head, and no less than a man's strength, that intends to live comfortably. . . . All New England must be workers in some kind." They accepted their duty in a large and brave spirit. Was ever the work of colonists laid out upon so large a scale, or so rapidly carried forward? They were ready to sing, as we shall sing to-night, —

"Here is Thy bounteous Table spread;
Thy Manna falls on every Field."

But they sung as they worked, not alone as they worshipped. We look to see what they did, beyond keeping themselves alive. It is surprising to find in how much they anticipated our doings. Yet why not? We are but a little older, and they were very old. The needs of a man and of society have not greatly changed in these few years which we call so many. They were mature men who addressed themselves to the problems of colonial life. They knew whatever was known. Not as apprentices, but as masters, they laid their hand upon their work. The best things we have are our inheritance

from them, and some things have been lost. Free churches and free towns were their creation without precedent, and their bequest without conditions. The Republic was under their roof. They guarded against the dangers of liberty by placing it in the hands of men who were qualified to use it. They believed that in a government by the people, the people must be good enough to govern. Their test does not commend itself to us. It could not be employed now. If the State could endure it, the Church could not. But it was a natural thought for them. It was meant to secure a public administration which should carry out the purpose of their coming hither. They were careful into whose hands they put the power in a time when they could not afford to make a mistake. We are working at the matter now. Shall we ever get beyond their axiom that the good man is the good citizen; or their confidence that under the rule of good men there will be good laws, wisely and justly enforced? They did not believe in the natural right of a man to vote; but they believed in the natural right of a man to be good, and close upon that came the ballot.

We are spending money by millions of dollars, year by year, in the effort to make good citizens. We know that in this we cannot move too rapidly. They laid the foundation and then built the house. It was the rational way. We are trying to get the stones under the house which has already risen to the third story. It is slow work, but it must be done. They sought the purity of public and personal life.

We call it reforming, when we seek the same result ; with them it was forming. If one could not "see a drunkard, hear an oath, or meet a beggar" in their time, they knew the worth of that which we are painfully striving for, and they meant to preserve it. They made great account of education. The "old Schoolmaster in Cambridge," in the "faire Grammar Schoole," gained the favor of the colonial muse, and has lived in a deserved renown.

"'T is Corlet's pains, and Cheever's, we must own,
That thou, New England, art not Scythia grown."

A stone marks the place where the first school-house stood ; but the name of Corlet should be in all our schools, as it is upon one of them. The "faire Grammar Schoole" was by the side of the "Colledge" — *the* College. In their hearts there was but one. They set the proud name of the renowned University of England upon their forest college, and they made the college worthy of the name. Hardly shall we have dispersed from these gatherings before the college bell will ring its two hundred and fifty strokes, and summon us within its rejoicing. Then we shall hear and tell again the story of its founding in the love of learning and the knowledge of its power. We are extending knowledge, multiplying schools ; ranging the heavens, exploring the earth, and searching the mind and work of man. All this they tried to do. We are proud of the pre-eminence of the University ; but if gratitude failed, justice would compel us to remember that they brought their few

books, their shillings and silver spoons and cotton cloth, their wisdom and religion, to the setting up of a college among these scattered hamlets. It is a Puritan minister who sits among his books before the hall yonder, which treasures the name and memory of the men who, trained here in good learning, gave their lives to save the country into which their villages had grown. John Harvard's College wrote upon the wall over against their names a sentence from the Book he read and taught, and it is his blessing on the day which sends his scholars into the world; and it cut in stone upon the front of the Law School words which guided the law-giver from whom we have the Commandments of God. These are things which last. "Time is the great enemy," one said. Time is the great friend of that which has the power to live. Cherishing and enlarging our schools, let us remember that the fathers founded them.

We are coming, very late, to consider the men whom we have dispossessed, their rights and their interests. It was the earliest care of the fathers. Before they were here, they thought out what they would do for the natives in these wilds. At once they began to teach them. The Indian College witnessed to their desire. Preaching stations and preachers, churches and books, the Indian Bible, marked the missionary design. I do not forget the darker days, the conflicts, the killings, — the efforts of the red man to repel the white, the bloody self-defence. But they never meant this. It was

with a pure design that they sought the savages and tried to win them to better ways. One does not like to think upon the later Indian wars, Indian treaties, Indian wrongs. At last the slumbering sense of justice has awakened. We are taking up the work of the first comers, and the right will prevail, and some restitution will result. It is well. But let us remember that they who were here so long ago meant it for good to those who were here before.

They believed in the right and in liberty. It must not be overlooked by us who have so lately contended against oppression, that there was not a slave born in Massachusetts after 1641.

I have alluded to the leading features of their enterprise and labor. How vast their plans were, and how well were they worked out! They had lofty principles, from which they would not swerve when they became exacting. They were men, and their times were hard, — winters were long upon this coast, — but they cherished the virtues. The tenderest affection breathes in John Winthrop's letters, and the fragrance of spikenard is in Thomas Shepard's memories of his Margaret. Nor did they part with this which was human and sweet when they went out into the cold and stood among the snows. A colder generation was to come after them; the narrower conditions of their birth and childhood showed themselves in the character of men born here. But the warmth of their English homes was upon the first Englishmen. They had brought the best of all

they had, and they had brought themselves, to become larger men and women. We do not need to compare them with others or to translate them into our times. They were great, and they did grandly what they were set to do, what then most needed to be done. There is no call to canonize them; still less is there a call to criticise them. We have entered into their labor, and should know what it was.

They founded institutions; they did not believe in isolation. They built themselves into the town, though they were freemen; and into the church, because they were Christians. Every man kept his own conscience in the sight of God, but every man had regard unto his brother. They held a high idea of manhood, and they did their best to make it a reality. In all they purposed or hoped for, they recognized the highest authority and truth. The Lord was in their mind and heart. They had his comfort in privation, his guidance in perplexity. They knew that the strength of the hills was his, and upon his might they depended. They believed that they had his commandments and promises, and to these they gave unfaltering heed. They sought his glory and the extension of the kingdom which is an everlasting kingdom. The loftiest intention in the largest confidence dignified their work. They felt the power of an endless life, and they wrought for the centuries, the ages. We are celebrating the founding of a church of Christ. What thought of man has been higher or more enduring than that? Their Newtowne has lasted, and their college and their

church. The work of their hands has been established upon them. John Bridge looks from his granite pedestal upon the two churches which boast a common lineage, and far within the college gates, and rouses John Harvard from his open book to tell him that it was a good thing to bring Thomas Shepard to the New England; and John Harvard answers, VERITAS.

ADDRESS.

BY HON. WILLIAM E. RUSSELL, MAYOR.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :

I KNOW that the good city of Cambridge, that for two hundred and fifty years has walked hand in hand with this old church, through trials and suffering, wars and pestilence, yet always *forward*, is glad to be present to-day at this anniversary, bearing love to her younger sister, and the respect, reverence, and gratitude of a people deeply indebted for her long life of usefulness.

In 1636 our little town, poor, distressed, its people "straitened for want of land," with food so scarce that "many eate their bread by waight, and had little hope of the earth's fruitfullnesse," deserted by the governor, failing in the purpose of its founders, but filled with "quickenning grace and lively affections to this temple worke," rejoiced in the founding of this church, that brought to it prosperity and happiness, and was to be its strength and very life. "God's glory and the Church's good" bound Winthrop, Dudley, and their associates "in the word of a Christian" to embark for the Plantation of

New England. "God's glory and the Church's good," sought by Shepard and his little band in the planting of this church, became the strong foundation upon which our town was builded. Others had sought to make here a fortified town, a mart of commerce, the seat of government; but they failed. Perhaps, as Mather says of the early settlements north of Plymouth, "these attempts being aimed no higher than the advancement of some worldly interests, a constant series of disasters confounded them, until there was a plantation erected upon the nobler designs of Christianity." Certainly it is no injustice to our first founders to say that not till this church was gathered was Newtowne permanently established.

Others to-day will tell, better than any words of mine, the story of the birth and life of the First Church of Cambridge; in the telling they cannot fail to give much of the history of our city. The late venerable pastor of this church has pictured to us, with all the rich beauty of his poetic mind, that Cambridge Church Gathering of 1636. Another pastor has faithfully and ably written its life to the time when he came to watch over and guide it. Surely it is not for me to glean in fields where all is harvested. Rather let me express the deep debt the city owes to the church, and offer her homage and thanks to the old Puritan spirit that has always been the life of both the church and the city.

For years the church and town were one, but the church was that one. Only its members were

freemen, and none other had any voice in town affairs. In town-meeting the affairs of the church were settled. There repairs were ordered on the meeting-house, grants of land made to the church, and votes often passed that show how carefully and naturally, while the church was the town, the town looked after the interests of the church. The old chronicles constantly speak of "the people of this church and towne." Ever the church before the town, ever the "spirituall blessings" before the "outward things." So were they true to the purpose of their coming, and so building stronger than they knew. As the years passed on, and the church and town waxed strong, their affairs became more separate and distinct. Yet the church was always ruling and leading the town, and the town loyally following in her footsteps. Age and separation did not lessen the influence of the church. I know full well, sir, that a father's threescore years and ten must separate him a little from the life of his son; yet I venture to say that reverence for the gray hairs and ripe years, the recollection of tender care in childhood's days, filial love and gratitude, make the threescore years and ten a more potent influence over the younger life than when the father's will was the child's action, and he directed every footstep. So was it, so may it ever be, with this church and town, — the child that she nurtured and guided, and always followed with love and blessing.

Let me say a word of the great prosperity that

came to the town upon the establishing of this church under "the holy, heavenly, sweet-affecting, and soul-ravishing Mr. Shepard." First came the College, with a grant from the General Court six times as great as had been given for protection against the Indians, — planted here because of "the enlightening and powerful ministry of Mr. Shepard." Then to the town, now a seat of learning, was given her present classic name. Soon sprang up, under Master Corlet, the first grammar school in New England; here Stephen Daye established the first printing-press; here was printed the first Bible printed in America; and here, under John Eliot, was begun "the first Protestant mission to the heathen in modern times." The limits of the town were extended till they reached from the Charles to the Merrimac River, a distance of over thirty miles, or a mile for every twenty cattle and every five ratable persons in 1647. The "great bridge" was built to Brighton, and other signs showed the new life the church had brought. Many of these are perhaps the "outward things" of the town's prosperity. Better for the town were the faith and the Puritan spirit that Shepard and his company planted in its people.

Restrained by tyranny of Church, oppressed by authority of State, the Puritans abandoned ease and honors at home to lead serious lives in a wilderness where they might found a "Church without a bishop" and a "State without a king." "I'll be upon your back," said Bishop Laud to Shepard,

"and everlastingly disenable you." It was bishops on the backs of Puritans that gave to us this Commonwealth and Nation. "Everlastingly disenable" Shepard! No, but everlastingly enable him to perpetuate his name and virtues in the hearts of a God-fearing, liberty-loving people! The Puritans hated the union of Church and State; but here they founded a more perfect union, — a Church not dependent on the State or sustained by its authority, but a Church that was its very life. We care not so much to-day for the distinctive doctrines of their faith as that they had faith, not so much for the scruples of their conscience as that for conscience' sake they dared to suffer, not so much for their suffering as that in spite of it they never yielded. They came here, brave, determined, serious men, taught in oppression's school to love liberty, firm in the faith they would have died to uphold. That was the stuff from which to make Commonwealths that were to last. In prayer and faith they founded our little town; by prayer and faith, through this church, they kept alive the Puritan spirit.

We smile at the austerity of the old Puritans, their long faces and mournful manners; but we forget that their work was no holiday pastime. They were not seeking how easiest to live, but how best to live for "God's glory and the Church's good;" they were Church-building, nation-building, — establishing institutions to last as long as men fear God and love liberty. If such serious work

had not made them serious men, it would utterly have failed.

What does Cambridge owe to this Puritan spirit? What does she not owe to it? I fancy that if Shepard, Dudley, Dunster, and Sir Harry Vane could revisit to-day the scene of their labor, they would marvel at the fruit it had brought forth. They would find a University whose vigor and greatness had exceeded their fondest hopes; a city whose wealth is counted in millions, where they left thousands, and whose people would seem to them in number almost as the sands of the sea. But to them these would be the "outward things." I think they would ask: "Is there here freedom of conscience to worship God? Is there tyranny of Church or oppression of State? Is there fear of God and love of liberty? As life has become to you easier to live, has character grown less sturdy? Are men still ready to suffer for conscience' sake and die for love of country?"

What answer should we make? I would turn to the records of our town and city. I would show that in 1765, four generations after Sir Harry Vane was urging the largest liberty among the Puritans, our town was leading in the struggle that worked our independence. October 14 of that year, in town-meeting, was made the first formal protest against the memorable Stamp Act; and it was ordered to "be recorded in the Town Books, that the children yet unborn may see the desire that their ancestors had for their freedom and happi-

ness." Then came the tax on tea, and instantly the vote of this town that "we can no longer stand idle spectators," but will join Boston in any measures "to deliver ourselves and posterity from slavery." The spirit of Shepard and Vane and Dudley was speaking through Appleton and Stedman, Adams and Hancock. Yes, and soon under yonder elm were gathered men still ready to suffer for conscience' sake and die for love of country; few, ragged, half armed, united in defying the strongest nation of the world. Yet when Washington found in them the old Puritan spirit, he knew there was a force within his grasp that could "marshal the conscience" of his country to achieve her independence.

A short century more passes; there comes a struggle for human liberty, a call again to patriots and Puritans. And Cambridge, first in the whole nation, offers her children, under the lead of a grandson of a Revolutionary hero; and our old University, charged with being backward in these great agitations and with being forgetful of the Puritan spirit,—though her accuser is himself an answer to the charge,—sends forth her sons to die for the principles this old church has ever taught.

I have said enough. I hardly think if Shepard were with us, he would say that the prayers and faith of our pious founders had been forgotten, or that, after eight generations, we had proved untrue to the spirit of his ministry.

This is the word the city bids me say to-day. Shepard and Mitchel, Dudley and Dunster, — all have passed away; but each, “though dead, yet speaketh.”

ADDRESS.

BY HON. OLIVER W. HOLMES, JR.

Six hundred years ago a knight went forth to fight for the cross in Palestine. He fought his battles, returned, died among his friends, and his effigy, cut in alabaster or cast in bronze, was set upon his tomb in the Temple or the Abbey. Already he was greater than he had been in life. While he lived hundreds as good as he fell beneath the walls of Ascalon or sank in the sands of the desert and were forgotten. But in his monument the knight became the type of chivalry and the church militant. What was particular to him and individual had passed from sight, and the universal alone remained. Six hundred years have gone by, and his history, perhaps his very name, has been forgotten. His cause has ceased to move. The tumultuous tide in which he was an atom is still. And yet to-day he is greater than ever before. He is no longer a man, or even the type of a class of men, however great. He has become a symbol of the whole mysterious past, — of all the dead passion of his race.

His monument is the emblem of tradition, the text of national honor, the torch of all high aspiration through all time.

Two hundred and fifty years ago a few devout men founded the First Parish of Cambridge. While they lived, I doubt not, hundreds as good as they fell under Fairfax at Marston Moor, or under Cromwell at Naseby, or lived and died quietly in England and were forgotten. Yet if the only monuments of those founders were mythic bronzes such as stand upon the Common and the Delta, — if they were only the lichened slates in yonder churchyard, — how much greater are they now than they were in life! Time the purifier has burned away what was particular to them and individual, and has left only the type of courage, constancy, devotion, — the august figure of the Puritan.

Time still burns. Perhaps the type of the Puritan must pass away as that of the Crusader has done. But the founders of this parish are commemorated, not in bronze or alabaster, but in living monuments. One is Harvard College. The other is mightier still. These men and their fellows planted a congregational church, from which grew a democratic state. They planted something mightier even than institutions. Whether they knew it or not, they planted the democratic spirit in the heart of man. It is to them we owe the deepest cause we have to love our country, — that instinct, that spark, that makes the American unable to meet his fellow-man otherwise than simply as a man, eye to eye,

hand to hand, and foot to foot, wrestling naked on the sand. When the citizens of Cambridge forget that they too tread a sacred soil, that Massachusetts also has its traditions which grow more venerable and inspiring as they fade; when Harvard College is no longer dedicated to truth and America to democratic freedom; then, perhaps, but not till then, will the blood of the martyrs be swallowed in the sand and the Puritan have lived in vain. Until that time he will grow greater even after he has vanished from our view.

The political children of Thomas Shepard we surely are. We are not all his spiritual children. New England has welcomed and still welcomes to her harbors many who are not the Puritan's descendants, and his descendants have learned other ways and other thoughts than those in which he lived and for which he was ready to die. I confess that my own interest in those thoughts is chiefly filial; that it seems to me that the great currents of the world's life ran in other channels, and that the future lay in the heads of Bacon and Hobbes and Descartes rather even than in that of John Milton. I think that the somewhat isolated thread of our intellectual and spiritual life is rejoining the main stream, and that hereafter all countries more and more will draw from common springs.

But even if we are not all of us the spiritual children of Thomas Shepard; even if our mode of expressing our wonder, our awful fear, our abiding trust, in face of life and death and the unfathomable

world, has changed; yet at this day, even now, we New Englanders are still leavened with the Puritan ferment. Our doctrines may have changed, but the cold Puritan passion is still here. And of many a man who now hears me, whether a member of his church or not, it may be said as it was said of Thomas Shepard by Cotton Mather: "So the character of his daily conversation was a trembling walk with God."

ADDRESS.

BY REV. FREDERIC H. HEDGE, D.D.

MR. PRESIDENT AND FRIENDS :

THIS friendly meeting, this coming together, of two religious societies having a common origin, but long sundered by an old ecclesiastical feud, reminds me of a similar passage of Christian history which occurred in Syria some fifteen hundred years ago. The Meletian schism had divided for eighty-five years the great church of Antioch. To heal that schism the venerable Meletian bishop (his name was Alexander), on a high festival, led his flock to the place of worship of the opposite (Eustathian) party, took part in their exercises, and then led both parties back to his own church, where both united in a joint celebration of the day.

But what I have to say on this occasion relates to nothing so remote. I shall not wander into distant centuries, but confine myself within the limits of our own, and within the limits of our own town.

I propose to speak of the old meeting-house from which both our societies emanated.

I call it *meeting-house*, not church. We did not say *church* in those days except when speaking

of Christ Church yonder; that (an exceptional phenomenon in these parts, not always in running order) we called *the* church, but ours was simply meeting-house.

The old meeting-house, then, stood very nearly where the Dane Law School now stands, opposite the head of Dunster Street. Its true front was toward the west; and on that side a substantial tower, springing from the ground and boldly projecting from the main edifice, was surmounted by a belfry and a graceful spire capped with the customary gilt weathercock.

But the principal entrance was on the south, facing the pulpit. The auditorium was nearly square,—the best shape for acoustic purposes. It had three galleries. The eastern, before the erection of University Hall with its chapel, was allotted to the students and teachers of the College; the west gallery was free; that on the south was occupied by the choir. The ground floor was divided into square pews, having seats which could be raised on hinges to afford standing-room during prayer. When the prayer ended they were let down with a slam which marked with portentous emphasis that stage in the services.

Organ there was none; the music was supplied by a redoubtable bass-viol, supplemented by some wind instruments and a volunteer choir. The hymn-book used was Tate and Brady's. In the latter part of Dr. Holmes's ministry this was commuted for Watts's Hymns. The change was re-

garded as a bold step, but due to the demands of a progressive age.

I would like to speak more fully than time will permit of our minister Dr. Holmes. An able man, a learned man,—learned especially in the line of ecclesiastical history, whereby he was able to correct some misstatements in Southey's "Book of the Church," and to win from that author, I believe, an acknowledgment of error,—a man who inspired respect, dignified but kindly, grave but not without some touch of the humor that sparkles in the writings of his son.

Two scenes connected with the old meeting-house are indelibly impressed on my memory.

One occurred in my childhood, during what is known as the War of 1812.

A military company drafted from Cambridge, their term of service having expired, marched into town on a Sunday afternoon during divine service, with drum and fife affronting the sacred traditions of the Puritan Sabbath. They halted in front of the meeting-house, filed into the western entrance, ascended the stairs with measured tramp, the music not ceasing till they had taken their places in the free gallery. It was in the midst of the "long prayer." And the prayers *were* long in those days, or seemed so to the youngsters who listened, or perhaps did not listen. I have often wondered how, amid all that racket, Dr. Holmes could command his thoughts sufficiently to proceed with his prayer. But he did proceed. The "long prayer" had its

epic requirements, its systematic process; to have stopped in the middle would have been chaos. Our elders, I think, resented the disturbance. That the soldiers should come to meeting to render thanks for their safe return, was right and proper; but the drum and fife were unsabbatical to a fault. We children, on the other hand, agreed in the wish that such episodes might be repeated.

The other scene occurred in 1824, on occasion of Lafayette's visit to this country as the nation's guest.

During Commencement week the College always took possession of the meeting-house for their customary exercises; notice being given to pew-holders to remove their hymn-books and cushions, to protect them from academic abuse. Lafayette occupied a conspicuous seat on the platform on Commencement Day and the day following, at the meeting of the Φ B K Society. Edward Everett, then in the prime of early manhood, was the orator on that occasion. His personal beauty, his perfect grace, the charm of his wonderful voice, enhanced the effect of a speech which, as it was the first, so it was in some respects the best of his public orations. At its close he addressed himself to Lafayette. He related the story of the Frenchman's offer of his services to this country at the breaking out of the Revolution, of the inability of our commissioners abroad, for want of means or credit, to furnish a vessel which should convey him hither. "'Then' [I quote the words of the orator], exclaimed the youthful hero, 'I will provide my own.' And it is

a literal fact that when all America was too poor to afford him so much as a passage to her shores, he left, in his tender youth, the bosom of home, of happiness, of wealth and rank, to plunge in the dust and blood of our inauspicious struggle."

The effect of this passage and the whole peroration, recalling memories of the Revolutionary War and the nation's chief, was such as I have never seen equalled. The immense assembly, filling the building to its uttermost capacity, was fused in one emotion. Tears were in every eye; the tumultuous applause, again and again renewed, verged on madness.

Mr. Everett won many oratorical triumphs in after life, but none comparable to that. Said a contemporary of mine not long since, "It is some consolation for being old to have witnessed that scene, to have heard that speech."

The old meeting-house is gone; and the old feud, let us hope, is forever extinct. The history of ecclesiastical feuds which originate in theological differences is very instructive. It shows us on what subtle questions, insoluble by human intelligence, the controversies for the most part have turned; how a pale abstraction has set the world on fire, how Christendom has been rent by a vocable. And it admonishes us, in the words of an English divine, that "while we wrangle here in the dust, we are fast hastening to that world which is to decide all our controversies, and that the only safe passage thither is by peaceable holiness."

ADDRESSES

IN THE

SHEPARD MEMORIAL CHURCH.



Ebening Service

IN THE

SHEPARD MEMORIAL CHURCH.



A D D R E S S.

BY REV. EDWARD H. HALL.

I HAVE been much interested to-day in noticing how many different lines of thought can be suggested by a single theme. Some of our hearers, it is true, less devoted than we to the memory of our colonial ancestry, may insist that our speakers have all been saying, in different ways, one and the same thing,—namely, that the Puritans were perfect. To them it may seem that we have been claiming for our forefathers all that is best in the country's history, and charging all that is worst upon their foes; tracing back all obstacles in the way of our prosperity to hatred of Puritan principles; tracing back all religious and civic virtue and even all national institutions to half a dozen little meeting-houses built on these New England shores.

Well, they have a right to smile. Many elements go into the making of a nation, and the Puritans, in this case, did not contribute them all. There are many kinds of virtue in the world, and the Puritans had no monopoly in this line. That they were not paragons of all possible excellences we are quite ready to confess. At the same time there seems to me little danger that our glorification of the Puritans, in these days, will do any harm. We are none too prone to pay honor to our ancestors. On the contrary, we have been quite too forgetful of them. Every such commemoration as this surprises us by the heroic names which it rescues from oblivion, and the vast amount of popular ignorance which it reveals. I have little doubt that some of those sitting before me now have just discovered for the first time that they are themselves descended from one or another of these ancient worthies. When the statue of John Bridge was placed upon our Common, three or four years ago, many of us had to ask each other, "Who was John Bridge?"—only to find in the end that we were direct descendants of that stout old Puritan; too honorable a man to be forgotten by any of his grandchildren. There is little danger, then, in these anniversaries, whatever the hero-worship to which they lead. The Puritans did not possess all the virtues, it is true; but they represented, what is much more to the purpose, a very definite and positive type of virtue, which we are not likely to overrate. I have heard many in-

discriminate eulogies of the Puritans, I have heard many very fulsome eulogies of the Puritans, I have heard many partial and false eulogies of the Puritans; but I have never heard their actual or characteristic traits too highly extolled.

And now I find myself, too, led into a special line of thought,—one which I am very grateful to those who went before me for not infringing upon, and which I trust my successors will not feel themselves wronged if I pursue; namely, the effect upon a religious faith of being transported from its home to foreign shores. A learned and orthodox German historian goes so far as to declare, in speaking of the Jews, that none of the historic religions has ever flourished in its own home. None, as he expresses it, seems able to conquer its native soil. Judaism must fly from its Chaldæan birthplace and be brought into contact with Egyptian worship before beginning its real career; Christianity, in turn, must abandon Jerusalem and Judæa before it can find full expression; Mohammedanism must be driven from Mecca before it becomes conscious of itself. Without urging upon you any such sweeping philosophical generalization, let me call your attention to the unquestionable changes which came over Protestantism on crossing the seas to this Western Continent. Not insisting that Protestantism found its full development only in America, or that the only true Puritanism is New England Puritanism, we can certainly claim that our Protestant faith took to itself fresh shape and vigor

here, such as was possible only under these Western skies.

We are wont to think of the Puritan movement as having some distinctive form impressed upon it from the start. On the contrary, when it came to these shores, nearly a century after its birth, it had assumed no definite form whatever. It had been purely tentative and experimental, taking various names and shapes, but retaining neither of them. In Scotland, to be sure, it had adopted the form of Presbyterianism from the start; but in England it had been known by many names, each being rejected in turn as inadequate. At first, naturally enough, it appeared simply as a revulsion from episcopal jurisdiction, and contented itself with merely asserting its absolute freedom from ecclesiastical control. At this stage it bore the insignificant title of Brownism. Early in the seventeenth century it took to itself the more definite name of Independency. At about the same time those who had left the English Church, in order to distinguish themselves from those who remained behind, accepted the name of Separatist. It was among the band of Separatists, settled chiefly in Holland, that the first movement to America began, which resulted in the settlement at Plymouth.

But, meantime, among the non-conforming clergy there was by no means entire sympathy with these movements. On the contrary, there was great distrust of them, and extreme distaste for both the methods and the aims of the Separatists. The name

of Puritan became obnoxious to some of the Puritan clergy themselves, and something like an anti-Puritan reaction sprang up among them, purely in consequence of the radicalism of the Independents. The Non-conformists distrusted the Separatists, and the Separatists the Non-conformists, while both together repudiated the Brownists. Both John Cotton and John Robinson are on record as passionately disavowing all sympathy with Brownism.

When the Puritans came to Massachusetts, then, they had outgrown each former name, and had found as yet no new one. What should the new name be? and what, in general, the worship and polity of the New England churches?

So far as forms of worship are concerned, we find the Massachusetts churches falling quietly into the simple rites already adopted in Holland: Messengers from Plymouth, where these rites had been already adopted, were present with words of counsel at the organization of the first church in these parts, that at Salem. Some of our own ministers, Hooker and others, had already visited their brethren in Holland, and learned their ways. Moreover, they were all agreed that the Scriptures were to be their supreme authority on every point; and in the New Testament they found no ritualistic worship, no bishops as distinct from ministers, no church officials except pastors and elders, teachers and deacons. Hence the plain and uneclesiastical worship which has come down to this day.

But, meantime, another question arose, which the Plymouth colonists had not been called upon to meet: What was the relation of the new churches to each other? It must be remembered that so far as precedents were concerned, the founders of the Massachusetts Colony had no alternative before them but Presbyterianism on the one hand, and the absolute independence of the churches on the other. Naturally, they might have been expected to favor Presbyterianism, which was in the ascendant then among the English Non-conformists, and continued so until Cromwell's influence brought Independence into favor. At the Assembly of Divines held at Westminster about ten years after the departure of the Massachusetts Colony (1643), only a handful of the members, a dozen at most, were Independents, the rest being Presbyterian. By their action, so far as the Westminster Assembly could determine the question, Presbyterianism became the established religion of England. Nor was this form of religion by any means without its advocates in Massachusetts. The minister of Hingham was charged with Presbyterian leanings. A little party of Presbyterians were heard of at Newbury. Others were petitioning the Court for recognition. But Presbyterianism found no favor in the free air of New England. On the contrary, our New England ministers, through their letters to friends at home, seem to have done most of the fighting in favor of Independence in England.

Was it, then, Independence that established itself in New England? Not quite. This name, too, had lost something of its charm, and was gradually giving way to another. Not consciously. The actors in such events rarely know the work in which they are engaged, and there is nothing to indicate that our Puritan fathers knew that they were establishing a new church polity. It came about through the pure force of circumstances.

In the strangeness of the new situation and the common sense of danger and of need, the little congregations longed for each other's sympathy. The instinct of companionship and fellowship drew them closer and closer together. They were afraid of heresies and false doctrines, too, and were determined to present a united front against antinomianism, familism, anabaptism, or any other form of schism. Still another influence operated to produce unity of action. As none but church-members were freemen, and none but freemen were church-members, they found themselves taking counsel together upon all the affairs of their several communities, matters of state to-day and matters of church to-morrow. Before they were aware of it, therefore, they came into very close ecclesiastical relations with each other. It was soon understood that no new church should be founded without the consent and participancy of the older churches. No pastor could be ordained without a coming together of elders and delegates to express their sympathy and offer the right hand of fellowship.

I say, this came about only by degrees. Some churches, sensitive of their rights, resisted every step towards community of action. At first each church ordained its own pastor without consulting its neighbors or asking their fellowship in the matter. When the church at Newtown was founded, in the august presence of the Massachusetts magistrates and clergy, the visitors were informed that the church had chosen Thomas Shepard as its pastor, and proposed soon to install him. Watertown had the reputation of always refusing to "send its messengers to any church gathering or ordination," or to ask for any delegates to its own. Salem, in its anxiety for the liberties of the churches, objected even to the ministers' gathering at each other's houses. Boston and Salem both took alarm when it was proposed to call a synod for considering church matters. But this hostility seems to have given way by degrees to the necessity of organization and the desire for mutual sympathy. The ties between the churches grew stronger and stronger. By and by this new relationship was ready to announce itself and take a distinctive name. At a synod held in our own church during the ministry of Thomas Shepard, — a synod which, although not quite so protracted as the great Council of Trent, yet continued its session year after year (1646-1648) till its work was done, — this step was finally taken and the new name appeared.

And now, what is this new church order of which I am so mysteriously speaking, and this new name un-

heard till now? It is Congregationalism. If I read the history of those times aright, in that clause in the Cambridge Platform which speaks of *Congregational churches*, adding in parenthesis "the term *Independent* we approve not," we have the first official publication of a name and polity with which in these latter years we have grown so familiar.

I do not say that this was the first time the name Congregational was ever used. We find it here and there in the writings of Hooker, Cotton, and others, as if it were a term just coming into vogue, though not yet a recognized term. So far as appears, John Cotton had more to do than any one else in bringing it forward just at the time it was needed. In Winthrop's Journal, covering the religious as well as civil history of the first nineteen years of the colony, the word hardly appears at all, and was evidently not then in familiar use. Nor do I mean to say that the principles involved in Congregationalism were wholly new. On the contrary, they had been advocated now and then from the first days of the Puritan movement. Even Browne, whose name had become such a terror among the Puritan clergy, seems to have favored some sort of fellowship among the Independent churches. The idea was by no means a new or strange one. But some hour there must be when such an idea, however long cherished, comes to practical development and demands for itself a name; and this hour, as it seems to me, arrived when the Synod of 1646 met at Newtown.

What then was meant by Congregationalism? Its distinction from Episcopacy is clear. Episcopacy speaks of *the church*; Congregationalism, of the *churches*. Presbyterianism, again, while denying episcopal power, lodges the same authority in a presbytery, or body of pastors and elders; Congregationalism, on the other hand, lodges all authority absolutely in the congregation. Where, then, lies its distinction from Independency, or Separatism, or Brownism, with all of which bodies historians usually identify it, and all of which acknowledge the independence of the individual congregations? It lies in its recognition of the fellowship of the churches. Independency (the sheer logical outcome of Protestantism, perhaps) is exactly what its name indicates,—an assertion of the absolute independence of each congregation; Congregationalism seeks to add to this an explicit provision for the association and united action of the churches through councils and synods. The individual church remains as free as before. It is still recognized as the sole source of ecclesiastical power; but it feels also the fine instinct of brotherhood, bred in it through its early years of exile and suffering, and delegates part of its authority to the whole fraternity of churches.

Congregationalism, then, is Independency touched by the spirit of fellowship. I do not claim that this is the only true form of religious polity. I do not claim that it is the only form suitable to our republican institutions. According to our modern ideas,

religion takes naturally many shapes, and will always do so. I claim simply that of all the forms of Protestantism this is the most purely American. I claim that this is the form which Christianity naturally took on these Western shores; that it was with the nation from its birth, growing out of its earliest necessities and accompanying it through all the stages of its earlier development. I cannot assert that it has always remained exactly what it was at the beginning; that it has not altered its form or its faith during these two centuries and a half. It is not for me to deny, nor yet to apologize for these changes. It is not for me to say whether Thomas Shepard, could he revisit to-day these earthly scenes, would recognize the building in which we are now gathered, its dazzling lights, its organ, its stately arches, its architectural splendor, or even the form of worship and of doctrine within, as in very truth his own. It is not for me to say in which of the two halves into which that First Church of Cambridge has been broken, Thomas Shepard would have felt himself most at home.

I only ask whether, on the whole, Congregationalism has not redeemed its promise. Has it not understood the New England life, of which it was one of the earliest factors? It has planted the germs of our religious and our civil institutions; it has covered New England with schools, and has established nearly all its colleges. Better yet, it has adapted itself constantly to the nation's growth, has opened itself to the influence of advancing religious

thought, and is able to appear to-day under the form of two religious bodies, widely differing in faith, yet standing side by side and hand in hand at the grave of a common ancestor.

Who will say that a church which identified itself with the beginnings of our American institutions, and which has attended the republic at every step of its growth, has not much work to do in the future in securing the ends of freedom and truth for which our nation exists?

ADDRESS.

BY PRESIDENT CHARLES W. ELIOT.

I WISH to confess, in the first place, that I made a grave error when I advocated, in the Committee of Arrangements, a morning celebration of this anniversary. To this proposal Dr. McKenzie objected that the men of his congregation could not well attend in the forenoon, and that it would be a serious charge and trouble to provide a mid-day meal for so large a number of people as might assemble. How much the better Puritan he was, I discovered a few days later, when I came, in the records of the Great and General Court, upon the following enactment, passed Oct. 1, 1633: "And whereas it is found by common experience that the keeping of lectures at the ordinary hours now observed in the forenoon to be divers ways prejudicial to the common good, both in the loss of a whole day, and bringing other charges and troubles to the place where the lecture was kept; it is therefore ordered that hereafter no lecture shall begin before one o'clock in the afternoon." Fortunately my unhistorical recommendation did not prevail.

It is proper that a representative of Harvard College should take part in these commemorative exercises. The College owed its foundation to the non-conformist ministers who came hither with the first emigration. It was founded, as Thomas Shepard said, that "the Commonwealth may be furnished with knowing and understanding men, and the churches with an able ministry." For the first ten years of the life of the College three fifths of its graduates became ministers in the established Congregational Church of the colony, and for a whole generation more than half of its graduates entered that ministry. Two hundred and fifty years have wrought a great change in this respect. Instead of more than half of the graduates becoming Congregational ministers, not more than six per cent become ministers at all; and this small contingent is scattered among a great variety of denominations. In 1654 Henry Dunster, the first President of the College, was indicted by the grand jury and turned out of office because he had become a Baptist; now the two oldest professorships of Divinity are held in peace by Baptist ministers. When I came hither to the collation this afternoon there walked beside me a birthright Quaker who is the Dean of the College Faculty. I fear that Governors Dudley, Endicott, and Winthrop, and Ministers John Wilson and John Norton would not have been pleased to see a Quaker in charge of the College. I fear that if the young minister John Harvard should now visit his posthumous child,

the College, with his ideas of 1636 undeveloped, he would wish at first sight that the institution bore some other name.

There has been a tone of exultation and triumph in our celebration, as if we thought that the Puritans exulted and triumphed. I do not think they did. They were terribly straitened, and were full of fear and anxiety. They saw nothing of the great and happy future. What they knew was that their lives were full of hardship and suffering, of toil and dread. Even their own precious liberty, for which they had made such sacrifices, seemed to them in perpetual danger from oppressors without and heretics within. How crushing must have been the constant sense of their isolation upon the border of a vast and mysterious wilderness! The Puritans were a poor and humble folk. Thomas Shepard was the son of a grocer in a small English village. John Harvard was the son of a butcher in one of the most obscure parishes of London. There were very few men among them of birth or station. In the early years they were often pinched for food. What must they not have suffered from this bitter climate! They lived at first in such shanties as laborers build along the line of new railroads in construction, or in such cabins as the pioneers in western Kansas or Dakota build to shelter them from the rigors of their first winter. They had nothing which we should call roads or bridges or mails. Snow, ice, and mud, and the numerous creeks and streams isolated the scattered

villages and farms, and made even the least communication difficult for half of the year. We are apt to think of the men who bore these hardships as stout and tough, and to waste no pity on them, because we cannot help imagining that they knew they were founding a mighty nation. But what of the tenderer women? Generations of them cooked, carried water, washed and made clothes, bore children in lonely peril, and tried to bring them up safely through all sorts of physical exposures without medical or surgical help, lived themselves in terror of savages, in terror of the wilderness, and under the burden of a sad and cruel creed, and sank at last into nameless graves, without any vision of the grateful days when millions of their descendants should rise up and call them blessed. What a piteous story is that of Margaret Shepard, married young to non-conforming Thomas, braver than he, confirming his faltering resolution to emigrate, sailing with him for these inhospitable shores, although very ill herself, and dying here within a fortnight of the gathering of the church over which her husband was to preside! Let us bear her memory in our hearts to-night.

But I dwell too much on physical hardships. The Puritans had other fears and anxieties. They dreaded the exercise here of English royal power. They watched with apprehension the prolonged struggle of the Catholic with the Protestant powers in Germany, giving thanks for mercies vouchsafed to the churches of God whenever the Protestants

obtained a substantial success. But worst of all, they did not feel sure of themselves. They were not always confident that they could hold to their own ideals of life. Within ten years they had serious doubts about the success of their civil and religious polity in the few settlements they had made. In 1639 "the 4th of the 2d month was thought meet for a day of humiliation, to seek the face of God, and reconciliation with him by our Lord Jesus Christ, in all the churches. Novelties, oppression, atheism, excess, superfluity, idleness, contempt of authority, and troubles in other parts to be remembered." John Pratt, of Newtown, must have given expression to a very common feeling when he wrote in an apologetic letter to the Court of Assistants these words: "Whereas I did express the danger of decaying here in our first love, I did it only in regard of the manifold occasions and businesses which here at first we meet withal, by which I find in my own experience (and so, I think, do others also) how hard it is to keep our hearts in that holy frame which sometimes they were in where we had less to do in outward things."

The Puritans did not know from day to day what should be on the morrow; and this uncertainty only makes their heroism seem greater. Examine the list of evils against which they prayed on the 4th of the 2d month in 1639, and consider what they would think of the state of our generation in regard to the same subjects. "Novelties!" Is

there any people on earth fonder of novelties than we? The American people is the only people I have ever lived among which takes the statement that a thing or a project is new as a recommendation. We like and welcome novelties. "Oppression!" They were in constant fear of oppression exercised by King and Church. That form of oppression we have escaped from, only to find ourselves compelled to be on our guard against another form,—the oppression, namely, of bewildered and misled majorities. "Atheism!" There are many excellent persons within these walls to whom the word atheists would have been applied by the men who ordered this fast. I do not believe that Governor Dudley or Governor Endicott would have tolerated the opinions of the most orthodox person here present. We all know that to-day there are millions of men of the Puritan stock whom the Puritans would have called atheists and treated as such. "Excess! Superfluity!" Think what they meant by these words. To their minds these evils had already invaded their society. This order was passed only nine years after the landing of the Winthrop colony. They had been through great sufferings from hunger, cold, and disease. They tried to regulate prices and consumption. They prohibited slashed clothes, large sleeves, laces whether of gold, silver, or thread, embroideries, long hair, and cakes and buns in markets and victualling-houses. They laid heavy taxes upon sugar, spice, wine, and strong waters, because they

held these things to be unnecessary indulgences. What would they think of our way of living? of our women's apparel, our church decorations, and our houses full of bric-a-brac? We who are in danger of having our intellectual and spiritual life buried under the weight of our luxuries and trivial possessions may well reflect upon the Puritans' idea of excess and superfluity. "Idleness!" They prayed against idleness; yet it is said of them that they worked sixteen hours a day, and for recreation laid stone-walls. The notion that eight hours make a working day they would probably have accounted a mischievous whimsey. "Contempt of authority!" Our social system would seem to them full of dangerous license and pestilent toleration.

Neither the civil nor the religious polity of the Puritans succeeded. It was impossible to constitute a state on the basis of church membership; it was impossible to make life all duty without beauty. The society which they strove to found was an impossible one; for in their social aims they ignored essential and ineradicable elements in human nature. The Crusaders did not succeed, and the infidels still hold Jerusalem. The Puritans did not succeed, with all their sacrifices and struggles, in realizing the ideals which they had at heart. Why, then, do we so honor them? It is not simply because they were stout-hearted. Many a soldier of fortune, many a free-booter or robber chieftain, has been stout-hearted too. It is because they were stout-hearted for an ideal, — not our ideal, but theirs, — their ideal

of civil and religious liberty. Wherever and whenever resolute men and women devote their lives and fortunes not to material but to spiritual ends, there and then heroes are made, and, thank God, are made to be remembered. The Puritans thought to establish a theocracy; they stand in history as heroes of democracy.

We cannot help asking ourselves if we, their descendants, may possibly be remembered two hundred and fifty years hence for any like devotion to our own ideals. Have we ideals for which we would toil and suffer and if need be die? The Civil War gave one answer to that question. But I believe that in peace as well as in war our nation has shown that it has ideals for which it is ready to bear labor, pain, and loss. I believe that no people ever sees clearly those steps in its own progress, those events in its own life, which future generations will count glorious. Yet I think we can discern some moral ideals towards which our generation strives. We strive towards a progressive improvement of human condition, an amelioration of the average lot. We begin to get a realizing sense of that perfect democratic ideal,—“We are all members one of another.” The gradual diminution of the exercise of arbitrary authority in the family, in education, and in government is another ideal towards which we press. We have come at last to really believe that he that would be greatest among us must be our servant. Finally, I think that we are working upward towards a truer and more beautiful

idea of God, and that these very times may be remembered in later generations for the furthering of that better conception. We no longer think of God as a remotely enthroned monarch, who occasionally intervenes in the affairs of men, or even as the Lord of Hosts. More and more we think of him as the transcendent intelligence and love, in whom we and all things, from instant to instant, "live and move and have our being."

REMARKS

BY DR. OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES

ON READING HIS HYMN.

IF we would sing this hymn in the spirit in which it is supposed to have been written and sung in the year 1636, we are to forget the scenery that surrounds us and imagine ourselves with them in the borders of the great untried wilderness. All the abodes of wealth and comfort which make this city beautiful must melt away and disappear like the baseless fabric of a vision.

All these stately edifices, monuments of the enlightened liberality which has made Cambridge, leaning on the arm of her great commercial suburb, Boston, the educational and literary metropolis of the continent, must vanish from before your eyes.

You are in the edge of an unexplored forest. The bear, the wolf, and the far more welcome moose are your not infrequent visitants. The red man is lurking in the wild woods, armed with silent but deadly weapons. You have met with these few godly men, who have come to lay the foundations

of a church which may perish from earth by extermination, or may abide until the second coming of Him in whose name it is founded. Perhaps some voices are tremulous; for who knows that the song may not be broken in upon by that fearful war-cry which those who have once heard can never forget?

Let us thank God for all those mighty changes which have transformed the wilderness into our goodly heritage, and join our voices in singing to his praise —

THE WORD OF PROMISE.

[SEE PROGRAMME, PAGE 22, FOR HYMN.]

ADDRESS.

BY HON. HORATIO G. PARKER.

MR. CHAIRMAN :

I HAVE observed, in assemblies of this nature, that those who are called upon to speak among the last are expected, as perhaps their chief duty, to indorse all that has been said by the earlier speakers.

I wish therefore now, lest I should hereafter forget it, to fully indorse alike all that was said in the other church this afternoon and all that has been said here this evening, in praise and commendation of Thomas Shepard and those who upheld his hands and helped and cheered him in his labors two hundred and fifty years ago, as well as those who, when he fell in the furrow, took up and carried forward the work so well begun, as being every word true, according to my best recollection. I will go further, and say that as to all that has been this day said in favor of those good and great men, and their purposes, works, and deeds, neither I nor, I am fully confident, any one present, has any recollection to the contrary.

Being asked by our Pastor to say a word here to-night, I desired to do so, if I could say anything of interest to any one who should stay long enough to hear me. The question was what that anything could or should be. It cannot be education, morals, freedom, or patriotism, appropriate as either of them would be, for they all will have been already spoken of so much better than I can speak of either of them. It must be something so common that every one will say it is proper, so just that every one will say it is true, so natural that no one will say it is new, or I had better not try to speak at all of those good men whose name and modest fame passing centuries seem only to make us the better remember and revere.

While so thinking, I had in my hand the story of a nun who having spent years in a nunnery had been liberated by those whom we might term the Puritans of the day of Luther, and was again at home with father, mother, family, and friends. She was asked if she saw any changes. "Yes," she said, "I see changes, but they are the changes of life. Where I have been the past ten years, the only changes were those wrought by the slow but sure finger of decay and death. I see the mother's hair is silvered, her cheek is whitened; but here is a home of taste and comfort, with well-trained and comely daughters. She would not turn back these changes of life if she could; they are her love and cheer. The father's shoulders are bended, and his hair is frosted; but the forest has fallen and given place to

blooming orchards and fields of bending grass and grain, while the bounding boys have become lithe and sturdy men, his pride and stay. They are the changes of life; you are all the happier and the world the better for them."

I thought the nun had suggested to me what all would agree was the peculiar credit and honor of the Puritan. As you view his course while he lived, and trace the effect of his teachings and life down through the centuries, you say the changes the Puritan produced upon the face of the land, upon men and women, upon society, government, and all human institutions, were all the changes of life. Nothing has perished of all he put his hand to.

We admit many changes; and if they are not all what the Puritan planned, wished, and hoped for, still he infused the life and proclaimed the freedom which have produced them.

How he favored education, that constant energizer in society, and with his scant means established institutions to promote it that have constantly advanced in character and influence, has been already so well told that nothing can well be added.

The Puritan knew that government is a necessity for man, and almost his first step was to put himself under its authority; still with the conviction that that government must improve and keep pace with the growth and needs of a thinking, growing, independent people.

The Puritan had his faith, — a faith he was true to, and a belief which he abided by and loved. He insisted upon individual opinion and private judgment; but he never reached the conclusion, somewhat prevalent to-day, that man had no obligation to faith, no duty as to belief, — for the Puritan saw neither light nor life in believing nothing. You know, Mr. Chairman, that I would not criticise him for this.

The Puritan believed in and strove for the material development of the country he dwelt in. He would open and cultivate it, and bring the parts of its wide-spread domain together by ways and channels of trade, travel, and communication. It would not surprise us to learn that Thomas Shepard wrought with the members of his parish upon these roads about us. And why not? One of the most gifted of modern New England divines has said that the roads of a country are a fair indication of its civilization and progress.

The Puritan, too, encouraged trade, commerce, and adventure. At the close of the Revolution the country was poor, and trade and commerce languished. Puritan energy and Puritan industry, however, soon brought prosperity and plenty out of feebleness and want.

But the Puritan did not busy himself in the larger and public affairs of life alone. He knew of no duty of common life to any one that was not a duty to himself. He helped the poor, he ministered with his hands to the sick and distressed, he loved and cared for children and youth.

These busy life-workers of two hundred and fifty years ago have gone. Their works do testify of them that they wrought only for the cheering and healthful changes of life; and we know that though their personal presence is lost to us, it is the angel of life, not of death, that has found them, and that they in these common duties of energetic life found the gate of heaven.

They are no longer of us. We know not whether they know or know not of and about us. But we know of them; and could they hear us, we might well greet them. Hail and cheer, bright spirits! Hail and cheer, grand spirits! Now, as two hundred and fifty years ago, the prize is still before you,—a life never ending, a kingdom of glory.

ADDRESS.

BY REV. NATHANIEL G. CLARK, D.D.

THERE is little occasion for me to add anything to what has been already said so wisely and so well of the Puritans. Yet after the very kind reference of the chairman to my connection with Foreign Missions, it may not be deemed improper for me to allude to the missionary purpose which entered into their motives in coming to this country. This purpose finds expression in the original charters of the Plymouth and of the Massachusetts Colonies. In the charter given the latter, it is expressly said that "to win and incite the natives of that country to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God and Saviour of mankind and the Christian faith, in our royal intention and in the adventurer's free profession, is the principal end of the plantation." The seal of the colony had as its device the figure of an Indian, with the words of the Macedonian cry, "Come over and help us." The missionary purpose, therefore, entered largely into the thoughts and plans of the early colonists. The

Plymouth and Massachusetts Colonies were great foreign missionary enterprises, — the first in modern times. They were not unmindful of their trusts. In 1636 the Plymouth Colony had enacted laws to provide for the preaching of the Gospel among the Indians; and ten years later a similar act was passed by the Massachusetts Colony. In the same year John Eliot began his labors at Nonantum. The first translation of the Bible into a heathen language, in modern times, was made in this colony and printed here at Cambridge.

The object of a foreign mission is twofold, — the conversion of the native population, and the introduction of Christian institutions and of a Christian civilization. The first was realized here so far as a native population could be reached; and before the close of the century thirty villages of Christian Indians were reported, and churches organized, containing not far from three thousand members. In the wars that followed, the Christian Indians were scattered, regarded as disloyal by their own people, and looked upon too often with unjust prejudice by the colonists. Yet the labors of Eliot and the Mayhews were not forgotten. Cherished in many a Christian home during the next century, they stirred the heart of Brainerd, of Sergeant, of Jonathan Edwards, and later of the mother of Samuel J. Mills. The original missionary purpose, never wholly lost, was to come forth anew at the opening of this century in the organization of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and in the

other great missionary enterprises which characterize our time.

The second part of missionary work, the establishment of Christian institutions, was to have here the grandest and completest illustration the world had ever seen. Two distinct elements entered into it, — loyalty to Christ and the best culture of the time. Never before, save in the immediate neighborhood of the great universities, had there been brought together so large a number of university men in proportion to the population, as in the Massachusetts Colony; and especially here at Cambridge. According to Professor Dexter, in his admirable paper on "The Influence of the English Universities on the Development of New England," not less than sixty graduates of Cambridge and Oxford came into this colony between the years 1630 and 1639, the larger part of whom settled in Cambridge and in its immediate vicinity. These men had shared in the awakened intellectual life and power of the seventeenth century, — that grandest period in English history. They brought with them advanced ideas of Christian life and of human freedom. These were the two elements essential to the best civilization, — Christian ideas in their simplicity and purity on the one hand, and on the other, cultivated men to set them forth. Here we have the secret of that power which has made New England what it is, and given it its influence in our national history, — an influence felt from the Aroostook to the Golden Gate.

Some years ago, in crossing the Atlantic, I had for a fellow-voyager a distinguished Western politician, a man who had served several terms in Congress and was not unwilling to serve his country in a higher position should it be offered him. He was therefore very careful and guarded in his statements, lest anything should be turned to his prejudice in his future career. Yet he did not hesitate to say, "You people of New England govern this country. We can vote you down in Congress, but somehow or other you always get the mastery." This witness was true! The best thought of the time, joined to the best culture, has prevailed and does prevail in this country, — determining its intellectual life and the character of its institutions. The Church of Christ first, the press and the school next in order of time, yet in closest connection, — Christian ideas and Christian culture. So was it here in Cambridge; so be it always and everywhere.

In the same spirit we are now carrying on Foreign Missions in all parts of the globe. We send the most cultured men and women we can secure, and we introduce the ripened thought of the time. The difference between the work of to-day and that of the early colonists in this country lies in this: then the field was a vast country, with but a scanty population; in our modern missions we have vast countries, and vast populations also. But the two missionary elements are the same, — loyal devotion to Christ and cultured mind. The missionary purpose of the Massachusetts Colony waits its full real-

ization when the Christian civilization of this country shall serve as a base for the evangelization of the world. Our fathers planned more wisely than they knew. Here were to be developed Christian institutions which in their beneficent results to the millions that were to occupy a continent were to be the admiration of mankind, and to give a prestige to the Christian name.

If I were a prophet, or the son of a prophet, I would like to lift the veil that hides from our view the next two hundred and fifty years, to show you the triumphs of Christianity in every land and clime, — how Christian institutions and Christian homes have become the common heritage of mankind; how art and science and philosophy and literature have laid their tribute at the feet of Christ.

“Then shall His glorious Church rejoice
His Word of Promise to recall, —
One sheltering Fold, one Shepherd’s Voice,
One God and Father over all!”



LETTERS.

MANY letters were received from gentlemen who were invited to attend the celebration, and some of them are here given:—

BOSTON, Feb. 5, 1886.

Rev. EDWARD H. HALL, Rev. ALEXANDER MCKENZIE, Dr. J. T. G. NICHOLS, and others, Committee.

GENTLEMEN, — Accept my sincere thanks for your obliging invitation. Most gladly would I represent my venerated ancestor, as has been suggested to me, in celebrating the anniversary of a church at whose organization he assisted two hundred and fifty years ago. It would have delighted the old Governor's heart to know that the flock which the excellent Shepard gathered and fed so devotedly, almost in a wilderness, should increase and multiply, century after century, until no single fold would hold them.

I do not forget that the great Thomas Hooker preceded Shepard. Both were of that Emmanuel College in old England out of which came so much of the best Puritanism of New England.

Your church was organized in a memorable year of the Massachusetts Colony. The First Church in Cambridge and Harvard College date alike from 1636, and they have gone along side by side, in prosperity and honor, to the present day. Harvard has given not a few pastors to your church, and your church or churches — from Thomas Shepard to the well-remembered

and highly valued Dr. Abiel Holmes, and their numerous successors — have furnished devoted friends and supporters to the College.

May the time never come when Religion and Education shall cease to be thus harmoniously associated in raising up sons who shall be worthy of their fathers !

Regretting that I cannot be with you on this interesting occasion, I remain

Very faithfully yours,

ROBERT C. WINTHROP.



BOSTON, Feb. 9, 1886.

Rev. ALEXANDER MCKENZIE, Cambridge, Mass.

MY DEAR SIR, — I fear that, after all, I shall not be able to take part in your approaching anniversary.

This I especially regret, as yours is the third of the four churches in which I have a strong hereditary interest which has recently celebrated some memorable event in its history ; and at not one of those celebrations have I been able to be present.

First came the quarter-millennium of the Boston Church ; and John Cotton was one of my progenitors. Next was the bi-centennial of the old Hingham Meeting-house, which was dedicated during the pastorate of John Norton, whose daughter married John Quincy of Mount Wollaston. Now comes the Thomas Shepard quarter-millennium ; and Thomas Shepard was an ancestor of John Quincy. Next, and last, will be the quarter-millennium of the church at Weymouth, of which William Smith was forty-nine years the pastor ; and William Smith married the daughter of John Quincy.

I had accordingly intended to take part in next Friday's commemoration ; it would have been to me a sort of family affair. Cotton Mather speaks of Thomas Shepard as a "silver trumpet," and again as "one whose life was a trembling walk with God." Whatever I might have contributed to your celebration would have been as a descendant of that Thomas Shepard, speaking, two centuries and a half after he began his labors, to the society

of which he was the first pastor. The life of the church of Cambridge now covers almost two thirds of the whole period that has elapsed since the discovery of America. He who presided over the gathering of that church left behind him no quickly fading memorial. He wrought his life into a thing of permanence.

Will the work that Thomas Shepard's descendants are engaged in last as long as his work has now lasted? It does not seem to me that we are building exactly in the spirit in which Shepard's generation built; indeed, our generation is engaged rather in an eager race with Mammon than in a "trembling walk with God." The year 2136 may record a different verdict. It may be that the edifices — political, intellectual, moral, and material — into which we are now, consciously or otherwise, working our lives, will then stand a comparison as regards strength and permanence with those into which the founders worked their lives in 1636; and should they stand such a comparison it will be well for us. Meanwhile, what we *may* do they actually accomplished. This, our present, is their future; and that, at least, is secure. A generation which founds political and religious institutions still flourishing in vigorous life and usefulness after two hundred and fifty years have passed over them has done a considerable work. Such a work Shepard's generation did; and the neighboring University, — which, Cotton Mather records, was planted at the door of the Cambridge Church mainly through its pastor's instrumentality, — no less than the church itself, seems likely to remain for many generations a living witness to the fact. So far as Thomas Shepard and his immediate congregation are concerned, time has recorded a verdict which cannot now be reversed.

I remain, etc.,

CHARLES F. ADAMS, JR.



HARTFORD, CONN., Feb. 10, 1886.

TO THE FIRST CHURCH IN CAMBRIDGE.

DEAR BRETHREN, — I have received your courteous invitation to participate in the celebration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of your venerable organization.

This invitation, extended to me as representative of the church first organized on the soil where your own has since for two and a half centuries occupied the ground, would certainly be accepted by me did not something more deterrent than the wilderness which once stretched between Cambridge and Hartford interpose to prevent.

For the relationship of these two churches used to be warmer than mere association with the same spot of ground only would imply. Family ties united the first pastors of these churches, and many of their early members also. Father-in-law Hooker and Son-in-law Shepard on several occasions traversed the wide forest spaces on horseback in household interchange. One of the more tender of the touches which occasionally light up the rather majestic and sombre record of Pastor Hooker's life is that passage of his letter wherein he speaks of his grandson "little Sam," son of your Samuel the saintly, as sleeping in the same bed with him here in Hartford, and as having "such a pleasing, winning disposition that it makes me think of his mother almost every time I play with him."

And not the pastors only, but delegates of these two churches also, met on many occasions in those far-off days to consult about the less or more important matters of common welfare, — Ann Hutchinson's heresies, Congregational Platforms, Hartford Church quarrels, and the like.

These old memories are revived, and the old intercourse in a sense renewed, by your invitation to join with you in the holiday occasion of your present festivities.

Unable on account of present illness to do this, let me present you the memorial volume of a celebration similar to your own commemorated three years ago by the First Church of Hartford ; and let me extend to you, in this church's name, a hearty congratulation on your arrival at the same happy occasion in your own history.

With best wishes for the altogether enjoyable progress of your anniversary procedures, I am

Very truly yours,

GEORGE LEON WALKER,

Pastor First Church, Hartford.

NEW YORK, Feb. 10, 1886.

Rev. ALEXANDER MCKENZIE, D.D., Cambridge.

MY DEAR FRIEND, — Many thanks for the invitation to participate in the celebration of your two hundred and fiftieth anniversary. I wish very much that it were in my power to be present ; for the commemorative services, I am sure, will be very interesting and instructive. What an eventful moment in the annals of American faith and piety was the coming of Thomas Shepard to New England ! His name has been familiar to me from boyhood. When some nine or ten years old, I began to read President Edwards on the Religious Affections ; and nothing in the book impressed me so much as the extracts from Shepard's "Parable of the Ten Virgins," given in the notes. How they would strike me now I cannot say ; but they struck me then as full of the "marrow of divinity."

What a pity it is that as yet we have no adequate history of New England religious thought and church life in the seventeenth century ! But such a celebration as yours will at least do much towards collecting and sifting the requisite materials, so far as they are still in existence. The Presbyterian Church and all the churches of the country owe a vast debt of gratitude to such fathers of New England as Thomas Shepard.

I trust your celebration will be at once delightful and edifying.

Ever most truly yours,

GEORGE L. PRENTISS.



NEW YORK, Feb. 11, 1886.

MY DEAR DR. MCKENZIE, — Your invitation to be present at the celebration to-morrow of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of your church awakens in my mind a flood of recollections and emotions.

I very much regret that the pressure of engagements here will prevent me from the personal enjoyment of what will be, I have no doubt, the great celebration.

It seems to me that your church has been a signal illustration not only of prosperity in the large sense, but of God's readiness in our day to fulfil the promises made to his people. It must be an immense happiness to you and to all your flock that after two hundred and fifty years of various history you can look back and say truthfully, without boasting, that at no period in your whole career have you been stronger, or had a more vigorous vitality, or been in better, if as good, condition to do the full work of a church.

Had I known sooner of your plans, I might have arranged mine so as to be with you.

May God's blessing be with you in the future, as it certainly has been in the past!

Yours truly,

KINSLEY TWINING.



NEW YORK, Feb. 9, 1886.

MY DEAR DR. MCKENZIE, — I thank you very much for the invitation to be present at the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the organization of the First Church in Cambridge next Friday. I wish the founders of the church had possessed the foresight to organize a week later, for then I could have been with you. On that day I hope to be in Boston. As it is, I must content myself with sending to you, or rather to the church, my heartiest congratulations on its two hundred and fifty years of service, and on the progress in moral life and in religious thought which has marked that two hundred and fifty years, and which the First Church has certainly done its share in promoting.

Yours very sincerely,

LYMAN ABBOTT.

ANDOVER, MASS., Feb. 11, 1886.

Rev. EDWARD H. HALL, D.D., J. T. G. NICHOLS, M.D., and others, Committees of the First Parish and of the Shepard Congregational Society.

GENTLEMEN, — I very much regret that previous engagements make it impracticable to accept your invitation to participate in the celebration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the organization of the First Church. The occasion is of great and wide intrinsic interest, and the proposed method of observance impresses me as peculiarly appropriate and attractive. May the skies be as propitious as the day is rare and the celebration welcome !

Very truly yours,

EGBERT C. SMYTH.



MAGNOLIA, CLAY COUNTY, FLA., Feb. 6, 1886.

Dr. J. T. G. NICHOLS, Cambridge, Mass.

I have received the invitation of the Committees of the First Parish and the Shepard Congregational Society to the commemorative services of the First Church in Cambridge to be held on the 12th instant.

I regret that my absence in Florida will deprive me of the pleasure of attending the proposed reunion on that interesting occasion, especially as my ancestor, John Bridge, was the first deacon of that church, and was instrumental in persuading the Rev. Thomas Shepard to come to the New World, as is shown by his letter in which he says : " Divers friends went before ; but John Bridge *writ* me to come." It is very pleasant to see that after the lapse of two hundred and fifty years the memory of Thomas Shepard is to be so appropriately honored.

Very respectfully your obedient servant,

SAMUEL JAMES BRIDGE.

YARMOUTH, Jan. 29, 1886.

Rev. Dr. MCKENZIE.

DEAR BROTHER, — My eye has fallen on the notice of the celebration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of your church, and it has called up a fact in the life of Mr. Shepard to which your attention may not have been called. In preparing a history of the church in Yarmouth a few years ago, I found that a council was called here in the latter part of 1647 to heal a long-standing difficulty. The most distinguished ministers of the Plymouth Colony were invited, together with John Wilson, of the First Church, Boston, Thomas Shepard, Cambridge, and John Eliot, of Roxbury. The result was very satisfactory, and the breach that threatened to destroy the church was healed. It was made the occasion by Mr. Shepard of some good work among the Indians of this region.

These churches were relatively more important than they are now; and this circumstance indicates that the relations of the ministers of the two Colonies were closer than might have been supposed from the distance between them at that day.

I will send by this mail a copy of my sermon in which notice is taken of this episode in the life of Shepard. It may have a little interest to you just at this time to trace the history of one of the earliest of the churches of the old Colony, which I hope will celebrate its quarter-millennial in 1889.

Yours truly,

JOHN W. DODGE.

—♦—
CAMBRIDGE, Feb. 4, 1886.

To Rev. EDWARD H. HALL, Rev. ALEXANDER MCKENZIE, J. T. G. NICHOLS, M.D., etc.

GENTLEMEN, — I received your cordial invitation to participate in the celebration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the organization of the First Church in Cambridge. I appreciate this invitation and the spirit which suggested it, for which I return my sincere thanks. I am sorry, however, I can-

not attend. I tender you my congratulations for your success in the past and my wishes for your progress in the future.

Gentlemen, your celebration will invoke the spirits of those men who founded these Colonies, and placed their impress not only on New England but on all North America wherever the English language is spoken. These men had but *one* fault, but they had *many* virtues. Their assiduity in religion as they understood it, their perseverance and courage, their industry and frugality, their honesty and simplicity of life, and — last, not least — their purity of morals should serve for the admiration and model of men.

Then let their fault be buried with them in the grave, but let their virtues be taught to generations unborn. And may all peoples serve God according to the light and grace that he imparts until the time come when “there will be but one fold and one Shepherd.”

Yours very respectfully,

WILLIAM ORR.



CAMBRIDGE, Feb. 4, 1886.

MY DEAR MR. MCKENZIE, — In acknowledging the receipt of your kind invitation to participate in the exercises commemorative of the founding of our church, I much regret to say that absence in the South will prevent my attendance on that very interesting occasion, and I must content myself — as I shall do when the next two hundred and fiftieth anniversary occurs — by “being with you in spirit” only.

These occasions, so frequent of late in civic celebrations, possess double value and interest when of an ecclesiastical character; and while they emphasize the fact that Church and State were intended by the founders of this Commonwealth to have always an independent existence, yet they prove that simultaneous with the State was established the Church, and that it was never intended to divorce the religious influence of the latter from the former.

Indeed, it is a fact worthy of our serious consideration that the men of State in those days were the men of Church ; and it was recognized as a fundamental principle in the selection of rulers that they only were fitted to rule who had first learned obedience to God, and that no morality could long exist in a community which ignored the importance of loyalty to Jehovah, the Supreme Ruler of the universe, and the importance of a religious basis in all education of the young, — a fact most opportunely brought into prominence in these days by the vigilant President of our College.

If history teaches anything, it is that godliness is profitable and essential to national vigor and prosperity.

We do not wonder that such men as Harvard and Dunster and Shepard and their associates made the religious factor so prominent in all civil and educational affairs. They did not overestimate its importance ; and hence the Church, the School, the State, were bound together by a common fellowship of principle, and whatever assailed either of them became a common enemy.

If the youth of those days were compelled to listen to such doctrines, it was a force like that of the pure air of heaven we are obliged to breathe, the healthful sunlight we must receive, the mother's love we are constrained to feel in every fibre of our being, and the care of a Heavenly Father we are forced to enjoy in the seedtime and harvest.

Nor can all the culture which our institutions of learning afford possibly be a substitute for that ethical teaching which has for its sole foundation the Word of God as revealed in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments.

If these anniversary occasions accomplish nothing else than to voice anew these old-fashioned but reliable and sturdy truths, we may find ample reward in them. If they fail in this, they become mere memorial services, where men and women meet only to muse over the somewhat antiquated inscriptions on their fathers' gravestones.

I rejoice in the prosperity of these two churches, now so happily brought together ; and as we celebrate that event with which "our common ancestor, Thomas Shepard," was so intimately identified, let his words come with fresh conviction. Writing to

Richard Mather at the time the council was called to found the Dorchester Church, he says, "'Tis not faith, but visible faith, that must make a visible church and be the foundation of a visible communion."

To each of these churches may the message come from the recording angel: "I know thy works and charity, and services and faith."

Trusting that this may be our mutual experience, and with renewed regrets that I cannot be with you, I remain

Very truly yours,

JAMES M. W. HALL.



BOSTON, Feb. 10, 1886.

Dr. J. T. G. NICHOLS.

DEAR SIR,—As I find that I shall probably be unable to attend the Church Anniversary on Friday, I venture to enclose some historical notes which may be new and interesting.

I am a descendant of Francis Whitmore, who, with his wife Isabel, daughter of Richard Park, was a member of the First Church. In 1668 he was one of the three appointed to attend to the spiritual wants at the Farms; and his house and farm were on the dividing line when Lexington was set off from the mother town. Of his five sons, all have descendants of the name living. His second son, John, was a deacon at Medford; and *his* descendants are now gradually returning to this vicinity,—in fact, I believe one is a citizen of Cambridge at present. I hope many of the other early settlers of Cambridge will be represented at your meeting.

I submit the following memoranda in regard to your first minister:—

Thomas Shepard says in his Autobiography that his first wife was Margaret Tauteville, a kinswoman of Sir Richard Darley of Buttercramb, Co. York, at whose house he was engaged as chaplain. As there are descendants of this marriage, through his son, Rev. Thomas Shepard of Charlestown, whose daughter

Anna married Daniel Quincy, I presume some interest will be felt in an effort to identify the estimable lady.

In Dugdale's "Visitation of Yorkshire in 1665" (published by the Surtees Society), I find on page 87 a pedigree of the family of Stoutville of Humanby in Dickering Wapentake. It covers only four generations, the then head of the family being Robert Stouteville, aged 31, married, and having three children.

The first of the line there recorded is Charles Stouteville, who died about 1622, having by wife Anne, daughter of Bryan Robinson of Boston, Co. Linc., two sons and three daughters. Two of these daughters married, respectively, Thomas and John Acklam, of Drinho, Co. York; and the third, Margaret, is called the wife of — Shepherd.

The coincidence of names is almost certain proof; and I can, moreover, explain the way in which Margaret Estoteville was a kinswoman of the Darleys.

Foster's "Visitations of Yorkshire" shows that Richard Darley and his son William were settled at Wistow, Co. York. Richard, son of William, settled at Buttercramb, a place about twelve miles from the city of York. He was the father of Richard, who was born in 1570, and who was the patron of Thomas Shepard. This Richard (or Sir Richard, as Shepard terms him) married Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Gates of Seamer, Co. York. Her grandmother was Lucy Knevet; and Anne Knevet married Nicholas Robinson of Boston, Co. Linc. A marriage of cousins brought the relation closer, as Lady Darley's uncle married Elizabeth Robinson. On the Robinson side, Charles Stouteville was own cousin to Mrs. Elizabeth (Robinson) Gates.

Thus, as the annexed table shows, Lady Darley was connected by marriage closely with the Robinsons; and Margaret Stoteville was within the range of kindred. They were cousins' cousins.

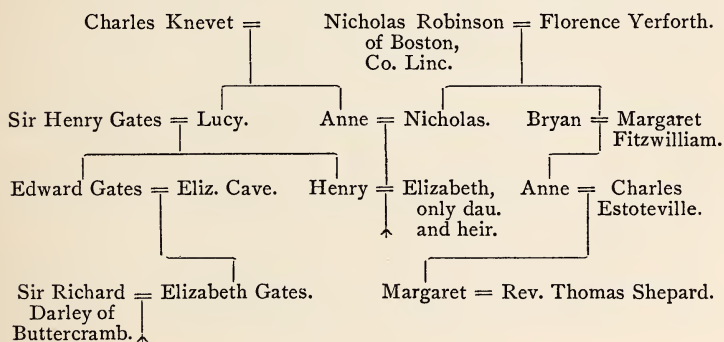
We may well imagine that as Margaret Shepard's grandfather was a younger son, and Mrs. Gates represented the senior line, there would be a tendency for the junior branches to turn towards that line.

Family ties seem to have been strong in those days. Numerous intermarriages strengthened these bonds. Thus Lady Darley's aunt married John Alured; and their daughter married

Francis Darley, own cousin to Sir Richard. A daughter of Sir Richard married an Alured, as Shepard records.

I think we may safely say that Shepard's wife has been identified; that she was well connected; and that the fact that her grandfather, Bryan Robinson, was of a good family in old Boston is not without interest to her descendants to-day.

The "Visitation of Lincoln," printed in Vol. IV. of the "Genealogist," shows some confusion in the Robinson pedigree; but in this record, as well as the "Yorkshire Visitations," the fact that Nicholas and Bryan Robinson were brothers is clearly shown. Possibly further investigation would show some other line of connection between the Darleys and Estotevilles; but I submit that the present is sufficient to bear out Shepard's words.



As to Shepard's ancestry, we know from his Autobiography that he was born in Towcester, Northamptonshire, Nov. 5, 1605, being the third son of William Shepard, who was born in Foss-cote, near Towcester. It seems, also, that his paternal uncle, unnamed, lived at Adthrop, — a little blind town adjoining Foss-cote. It is now called Abthorpe.

Having had occasion some years ago to make some genealogical inquiries in England, I obtained through Colonel Chester, our ablest antiquary, the Shepard record from Abthorpe.

It seems that "the little blind town" is now of more importance; and its church record includes Foss-cote.

The earliest record is that of Richard Shepherd, who had by wife Anna children Cicely, Thomas, Samuel, and Richard,

between 1583 and 1595. Later on, Thomas, Michael, and William Shepherd appear,—from 1615 to 1630; and the name (spelt Shephard, Shepherd, or Sheppard) continued down to 1700.

Although we cannot identify Shepard's grandfather and grandmother, with whom he lived in Fosscoate in 1608 (unless the latter be the widow Margaret Shepherd, buried Dec. 31, 1616), we find in these entries full confirmation of his statement as to his ancestry. Undoubtedly a search at Towcester would give more facts; and I hope this will not be overlooked in the future.

In conclusion I would remind you that the New England Historic, Genealogical Society has some manuscripts of Shepherd's in regard to church-members never yet printed. Then there is the list printed in Rev. Mr. Newell's Address in 1846, and Shepard's Autobiography,—accessible only in the rare volume issued in 1832 by Rev. N. Adams.

I would respectfully urge upon you to arrange for a committee to prepare a memorial volume containing all these matters, and whatever else can be gleaned relative to the early history of your church. I will gladly assist; and I am confident that such a book will find sufficient patronage from those who are interested in the subject.

Hoping that these notes will be acceptable as pointing out new sources of information, I remain with much respect,

Yours very sincerely,

WILLIAM H. WHITMORE.

S E R M O N

BY

REV. EDWARD H. HALL,

IN THE

First Parish Church,

FEB. 14, 1886.



S E R M O N .

THE LORD OUR GOD BE WITH US, AS HE WAS WITH OUR
FATHERS. — 1 Kings viii. 57.

WE have just taken part, with a sister church, in an interesting commemoration. Two centuries and a half ago, as we are reminded, occurred the first gathering of our church and congregation; and while the memories awakened by this anniversary are still fresh in our minds, it seems pleasant to review, at somewhat greater length, the incidents of that far-off occasion. This is no new theme. One of my predecessors in this pulpit, whose ministrations here are still so fondly and reverently remembered, went over the same ground, forty years ago, with a thoroughness and historic fidelity which leaves little for another to do. A more striking picture of the beginnings of religious life in New England could not well be given than was sketched for us by Dr. Newell, Feb. 22, 1846, in his "Discourse on the Cambridge Church-Gathering in 1636."

Still, whether already described or not, these old-time occurrences, in which well-known places and

scenes appear in absolutely unfamiliar garb, have a charm for us not yet outworn. In their quaintness and simplicity lies a perennial beauty. Let me then, without further preface, carry you back once more to that moment, two hundred and fifty years ago, when the pastors and magistrates of the Massachusetts Colony assembled here to establish their eleventh church. Governor Winthrop's detailed description of that event has been placed before you so lately that I need not repeat it.¹ Let us try to recall the scene this morning, speaking, first, of the place; second, of the church; and third, of the pastor.

First the place. The little hamlet in which this great event occurred was confined, as you know, within very small territorial limits. The spot where this edifice stands was quite outside the town, which occupied a narrow strip between what is now Harvard Street and the river, bounded very nearly by what are now Brattle Square and Holyoke Street. Within these lines was planted what had been intended as the principal town of the Massachusetts Colony. But capital cities did not grow to order in those days, any more than now. Massachusetts has two striking proofs of this fact. In a little village of perhaps one thousand souls, among the hills of Worcester County, is to be seen to-day a wide grass-grown avenue, with side streets at right angles, which local tradition declares was laid out early in the century, when it was confidently expected that R., being the exact geographical centre of the State,

¹ See Introductory Address of Hon. C. T. Russell.

would finally, by imperious necessity, become the capital city. Our own village affords the second illustration. Within a year after Governor Winthrop's arrival in New England, he set himself, in company with several of the Assistants, to select a site for a fortified town, to serve as the residence of the colonial magistrates. Fearing the Indians apparently much less than they feared their more civilized foes who might attack them from the sea, they turned their steps inland, and after tramping through Roxbury and Watertown in their search, finally chose this spot as best meeting the requirements of a metropolis, and agreed among themselves to build their houses here the following spring (1631). Before that time, however, their plans had changed. Perhaps the distance from the sea (as one of the early chroniclers suggests) seemed on second thought a disadvantage rather than a safeguard; perhaps the families already settled in Charlestown and Boston were reluctant to remove, even at the solicitation of the governor. In any case, the result was that Governor Winthrop, after erecting a house here, took it down and rebuilt it in Boston, while Dudley, the deputy-governor, was the only official to carry out the original plan. After many heart-burnings and some serious misunderstandings between the Governor and his deputy, the purpose was finally abandoned, and Boston secured the coveted honors intended for another place. The little settlement on Charles River, however, did not wholly lose its metropolitan character. For some time the "Courts of Assistants"

met here, though at irregular intervals; the annual election of governor and magistrates was repeatedly held under the trees of our common; a canal between the settlement and the river was built at public cost, and a tax was levied (in 1632) on all the plantations of the Colony "towards the making of a pallysadoe about the new Town." Indeed, our village can hardly be said to have had any individual character at first. It had not even a special name, but was called, as we see, simply the *new town* (with a small *n*), which appellation grew gradually into Newtown (with a large *N*), to be supplanted by its present title when the citizens finally took things into their own hands and determined upon their own name.

Little of the Cambridge of to-day, with its matchless informality of angles and lines, could be seen in the primitive settlement. The eight original streets ran at exact right angles with each other, and the rules for building were laid down with a punctiliousness befitting an official and fortified residence. Two or three of the earliest chroniclers praise its admirable regularity. "Newtowne," says one (in 1634), "is one of the neatest and best compacted Townes in New England, having many faire structures, with many handsome contrived streets." By early votes of the town, houses were to range even and stand just six feet from the street, roofed carefully with slate or board. No tree was to lie across the highway for a day, or else the tree was forfeited. All stubs of trees were to be taken up within the "town gates,"—the town gates being three structures

which hardly resembled those of Quebec, probably, but which gave a certain additional dignity to the town, and which seem to have stood (in 1636) near Linden Street, Ash Street, and the site of this church. Outside the town proper ran the palisade already referred to, extending, probably, a mile and a half, perhaps with a trench outside, and enclosing one thousand or more acres, for pasture, cultivated land, and commons.

It is interesting to remember that it was in the same year of the church-gathering which we celebrate, though a little later, that the act was passed by the Court which was to change so entirely both the aspect and the character of this little palisaded village. In 1636, £400 were appropriated towards the establishment of a school or college, which in 1637 it was determined to found in Newtowne. Still a year later (1638), in consonance with this new order of things, the name of the town was formally changed to Cambridge. So, with the establishment of Harvard College, the Cambridge which we know began its actual existence. All before this was purely preliminary.

And as the town had a double birth, so had the church, to which we turn our attention next. No New England settlement remained long without a church and pastor. In this case, as the existence of the town was decreed by public act, so an entire congregation was transferred into the place bodily, by order of Court, from another settlement. August 14, 1632, says the record, "the Braintree company

(which had begun to sit down at Mt. Wollaston) was removed to Newtown;" and on the 30th of the month, to calm the hard feeling towards the Governor on the part of Deputy-Governor Dudley, who found himself officially alone at Newtowne, it was ordered that "the Governor should procure them a minister at Newtown and contribute somewhat towards his maintenance for a time." This happened in 1632, and in 1633 Thomas Hooker, whom the company already regarded as belonging to them, arrived, and was at once installed as their pastor. Hooker was one of the most noteworthy of our early preachers; one whom Cotton Mather, in his annals, calls the Luther of the movement of which John Cotton was the Melancthon; and who is described (somewhat more attractively than most of the grim Puritan clergy) as one "in whom everything was full of life: life in his voice, in his eye, in his hand, in his gestures."

Before Hooker's arrival the little meeting-house had been built, and provided with what no other meeting-house in the Colony could boast, a bell, and the first ministry began most prosperously. Within a year, however, the new pastor grew impatient of his narrow stockaded quarters, and made up his mind to remove his congregation to the more fertile region of Connecticut. It was a fundamental mistake, he declared, for the colonists to have set their towns so near each other; and Newtowne offered no accommodation for their cattle, and certainly no chance to grow. Some have conjectured

that the real reason was not so much want of space as a growing jealousy between the two leading preachers, Cotton and Hooker, each of whom felt himself entitled to the first rank in the Colony. In any case, the fact was, that, after sturdy resistance on the part of the Governor and Court, permission for the removal was at last granted, and, three years after the first organization of the church, both pastor and people pushed through the forests, carrying the pastor's wife in a litter, and milking their cows as they went, to Hartford, Connecticut. Thus the first church organization, being transferred elsewhere, became extinct in Newtowne.

Meantime, however, before Hooker's removal, another company of colonists had providentially arrived from England, and, finding an entire settlement about to be vacated, purchased the houses at once, and established themselves in this place; at first, as they thought, for temporary occupancy, but, as it finally proved, for a permanent home. It is worth while to notice, as showing that Cambridge held its own in the end as against the superior charms of Hartford, that Hooker afterwards offered strong inducements to his successor, Shepard, to follow him into the more attractive regions of Connecticut, but without success; and that, a little later still, Jonathan Mitchel, on entering the ministry, being solicited at the same time (1649) to become Hooker's successor at Hartford and Shepard's successor at Cambridge, preferred the latter, and became the second pastor of this church.

Although in this way one church disappeared and a second came into being, there appears to have been no break in the religious services here. If the dates are correctly given, the two congregations must have worshipped together for some weeks, the two pastors perhaps officiating in turn; as, four months before Hooker's departure, the new church was ready for organization, and the event occurred in which Governor Winthrop was a participant, and which he deemed worthy, as we have seen, of such minute description.¹

Whatever more is needed to bring this scene vividly before us has been added by Dr. Newell in the discourse to which I have alluded, where he sketches with rare felicity all the famous historical personages who made that gathering so memorable: John Winthrop himself with his oldest son, Thomas Dudley, Sir Henry Vane, John Cotton and John Wilson, Richard Mather, Hugh Peters, and others.

Turning from this attractive picture, however, let us inquire to-day, more prosaically, into the exact historical and religious significance of the scene. Here is a plain little meeting-house, with hardly any token of its religious uses; here is a church called into existence by the simple consent of magistrates and elders, and the offering of the right hand of fellowship; here are long prayers and exercisings, with deep confession of sin and personal confessions of faith. All this is something new in the annals of the Christian Church. What, I ask, is its historic

¹ No mention of Hooker is made in Winthrop's account.

significance? Where does it belong in the development of Christian worship? Where did these rites come from, and to what do they point in the future?

The building itself has its significance, when compared with the cathedrals or parish churches to which many of the worshippers had been accustomed in their native land. This special building stood in the midst of the settlement, on the corner of what are now Dunster and Mt. Auburn Streets. We have no description of it. In comparison with the mud walls and thatched roof of its Boston sister, the log frame, with roof of slate or boards (according to the town ordinance of four years before), though probably far less picturesque, no doubt looked to our ancestors much more dignified and stately. A still further advance in church architecture was made when meeting-houses were surmounted (as at Hingham) by a four-square roof terminating in a belfry, a style reached in Cambridge some years later, in repairing the first edifice. The interior, if we look into it, we find as simple and unecclesiastical as the exterior. There is no altar, no choir, nothing even that in older countries would be called a pulpit; only a desk, with seats before it for deacons and elders, and rows of benches beyond, for men on the one side, and for women on the other.

Indeed, it is plain at once that we have to do here, not with a church, but with something quite different. It is a meeting-house: a place, that is, where the people of the town shall gather for all common purposes, — six days to arrange their secular affairs,

on the seventh to worship God. In the Plymouth Colony, the meeting-house (built nearly ten years before) was also a fort, the roof being a thick flat platform, with six four-pound cannon mounted on it; the worshippers, on Sunday, assembling by beat of drum, and marching three abreast, with musket on shoulder, to their martial meeting place. In Newtowne, as elsewhere, the meeting-house was the town-house, where the church-members (the only voters) met for council once a month at least; at first, all freemen, afterwards (1634-35) only chosen delegates or "townsmen."

Turning now from the external to the internal affairs of our little church, we find it, in common with the other churches of the time, engaged in a very interesting work. It is, quite unconsciously to itself, initiating a new order of worship. As I have dwelt upon this point in another place, I will only remind you here that the Massachusetts colonists belonged to that party among the Puritans who had cherished to the very last the hope of carrying out its reforms within the English Church. Nor was this expectation by any means so chimerical, or this attitude towards the church so half-hearted or irresolute, as at first thought appears. When we consider that during the entire reign of Queen Elizabeth the reform party within the church constituted probably, in spite of royal displeasure, quite half the clergy, — when we remember that at a convocation held in the beginning of her reign (1562) the proposal to set aside surplices, give up kneeling in

prayer, the use of organs, and the sign of the cross at baptism, was lost by a vote of 58 to 59 (deans and archdeacons being among the minority), — when we consider that at the accession of James I., after the intolerance and persecution of Elizabeth's reign, nearly one thousand of the English clergy presented a petition asking for extensive changes in the church service, and that a radical reform was only prevented by the King's intolerance and obstinacy, — when we remember (to come nearer home) that John Cotton preached for twenty years as an avowed Puritan in the parish church in Boston (England), and for some time before leaving the church had discontinued the liturgy and vestments, and denied the authority of bishops, — we realize what good reason there was for hope, through that entire century, that the church would itself take in hand all needed ecclesiastical reforms. At the time of the settlement of Massachusetts the animosity between the Puritans who had left the church and those who remained behind was very strong. When Winthrop and his party set sail from England, they declared in their well-known address to "the rest of their brethren in and of the Church of England": "We esteem it an honor to call the Church of England, from whence we rise, our dear mother, and cannot part from our native country, where she specially resideth, without much sadness of heart." John Cotton, writing from this country to a friend in England, declared with some indignation that he was no Brownist, and pronounced even the name

Independent as "too strait," and "no fit name for the way of our churches." Sixteen years later (1646) Winthrop speaks in strong disapproval of those in England who "went under the name of Independents, to whom such a vast liberty was allowed."

Nearly all the first pastors of the Massachusetts Colony, we must remember, were ordained clergymen (or lecturers) of the Church of England. Thomas Shepard made his first open renunciation of Episcopacy in entering upon his pastorate here. John Cotton, as we have seen, served for twenty years under the Bishop of Lincoln as vicar in the English Church of Boston, and before leaving his flock "conferred with the chief of the people and offered them to bear witness (still) to the truth he had preached and practised amongst them . . . if they conceived it any confirmation of their faith and practice." Hooker's ministry in the Church of England was much shorter; but when it was found that the Bishop of London threatened to suspend him, a petition was presented by forty-seven "conformable ministers of the neighboring towns," praying for his continuance at his post.

The establishment of Protestantism in the Massachusetts Colony, then, represents the period when the Puritan party in the Church of England, after having loyally held its place through three hostile reigns, had been at last driven from its allegiance. What new form of church government and worship should they adopt? In England at this moment those who could not go all lengths with the

Separatists were inclined to lodge the power taken from the bishops in the hands of a presbytery or board of ministers and elders. If England at any time during the reign of Charles I. had renounced Episcopacy, (as it seemed on the eve of doing,) it would have become Presbyterian. Were the American Puritans of the same mind? Or would they, on reaching American soil, where no state power restricted their action, and where a pure Independency had already established itself, overcome their repugnance to these sectaries, and adopt their forms of worship?

Nothing is more interesting than to see how this question worked itself out. It was done with very little friction, by perfectly natural and unconscious steps. Away from England, of course the old party names lost much of their horror. What was to forbid their turning, as the Independent churches had done, directly to the Scriptures, and shaping their new worship by the apostolic model? Already in Holland, as some of their own number knew, this had been long practised. Already in Plymouth it had taken root in New England soil. Without discussion or dispute, therefore, (so far as the records show,) the first pastors were ordained to their new office by the laying on of hands by the brethren of the church, liturgies, surplices, and organs disappeared from their Sabbath service, and the appointment by each congregation of elders and deacons was accepted as a sufficient substitute for bishops or presbyters.

Thus far, they were acting as purely independent bodies, and every step looking towards the association of churches into anything like the one Church whose power they had finally renounced, seemed likely to be hotly resented. And so at first it was. But circumstances are stronger than theories. The common sense of loneliness and of danger drew these pioneer churches into close alliance. In all exigencies they learned more and more eagerly to seek each other's sympathy and counsel. The identification of church with state, whereby the members of the several churches found themselves constantly acting together in both the civil and the religious affairs of all the communities, accustomed them to concerted action. And so it happened that, in spite of constant protests from individual towns, jealous of their rights, there grew up by mutual consent a certain affiliation of the churches, and mutual concern in each other's welfare, which, however familiar to us to-day, was then something new in the world, and indicated the dawning of a new church polity. There is no space here to trace its steps of development. It is interesting for us, however, to remember that the first announcement to the world of this new order of religious government, and, indeed, the first recognition on the part of the churches themselves of the fact that they had committed themselves to a common polity, was directly associated with our own church and its first pastor. The hour comes when every new movement, just becoming conscious of its own identity and its own purpose,

takes to itself a name of its own. That moment came when the synod of Cambridge, assembling in our little meeting-house on Dunster Street, declared that the New England churches were not Independent, but Congregational.

So sprung up a new Christian order, — an order in which the individual churches, while preserving their individuality and claiming each congregation as the source of all ecclesiastical power, yet consented to invest the assembled churches with certain authority over the several parts. It had been evolved, as we have seen, out of the practical exigencies of the situation. It had no justification in any previous traditions of church policy. It was very illogical, and showed in the statements and arguings of its own platform an uneasy consciousness that it was striving to combine things inherently incompatible. The churches were independent, yet they were not; each parish claimed the absolute right of controlling its own affairs, yet delegated part of its authority to councils or synods. With every new generation and at every new juncture down to the present day, Congregationalism has been forced to state its principles anew, and decide afresh just how much authority resides in the council and how much in the congregation. With the unity and aggressive power of an established church it has certainly never shown itself able to compete.

Yet, logical or illogical, it was, as we have seen, very spontaneous, and it has proved itself singularly adapted to its work. In the new life of the West-

ern Continent during those early centuries, if not throughout the nation's entire life, it was exactly what was needed. What it lost, as compared with Episcopacy or Presbyterianism, in sheer working power, it gained in elasticity and freedom. It has proved strong enough to hold together its scattered forces through the simple sentiment of brotherhood; it has proved supple and free enough to adapt itself to the growth of democratic institutions and the spread of new religious thought. Congregationalism, it must be understood, is the name, not of a doctrinal system, but only of a religious polity. It means, not believing certain truths, but governing churches in a certain way. The name belongs to-day to the liberal as well as to the orthodox churches which have issued from the Colonial stock; churches which, however widely they have separated in doctrine, have held with equal jealousy to the primitive Congregational idea.

And now we are inclined to ask just what was the humble ceremonial which took the place, in our Puritan meeting-house, of the stately worship to which those pastors and worshippers had been accustomed. Where and how did these simple rites, which have come down almost unmodified to us, originate?

The absence of a liturgy was almost a foregone conclusion. The liturgy was the distinctive feature of the mother church, it is true, but English Puritans had long tired of it. At the very formation of the English Church, a powerful party, including

bishops and clergy as well as laity, had protested against preserving any portion of the Romish ritual; and from that hour there was a spoken or unspoken protest within the church against all liturgical forms. Church music fell under the same disapproval, and for the same cause. Under Queen Elizabeth, as far back as 1586, a pamphlet was addressed to Parliament, praying that "all cathedral churches may be put down, where the service of God is grievously abused by piping and organs, singing, ringing, trowling of Psalms from one side of the choir to the other, with the squeaking of chanting choristers, disguised in white surplices." The prejudice against organs as part of the Romish ceremonial began, as such passages show, long before our ancestors' times. For a long time, as you know, there was no music whatever in our New England churches, unless the singing of Psalms without accompaniment could be called music; and many now living can remember when the bass-viol and violin, which for some strange reason were thought less idolatrous than the organ, were still heard in our country churches. The first American organ was built in 1745.

The most marked feature of the new worship, however, was the preaching. Where all else was simple, here was something formidably artificial and elaborate. Knowing as we do the insignificant place which preaching holds in most ritualistic services, and the short exhortations to which our early preachers must have been wont in the English Church, we cannot help asking how it was that they fell at once

into such new and strange ways. What was the source of the Puritan sermon?

It came about evidently as a reaction against that very neglect of preaching to which I have just alluded. Till that time preaching had never held an important place in the Christian Church, while in most ages it had been shamefully neglected. Great pulpit orators there have been in the Catholic Church from time to time, but through the periods of Catholic supremacy as a whole, until the influence of Protestantism began to be felt, we hear little of preaching. The cathedrals or large parish churches were ill adapted to it, while at the same time the mass of the clergy were too ignorant and untrained for any such service. For many ages nearly all the sermons or homilies used by the priests were written for them. In the sixth century (529) a church covenant enacted: "If any presbyter be unable to preach, the homilies of the sacred fathers are to be read by the deacons." In the Middle Ages large collections of these homilies, arranged by Sundays, were almost universally employed.

The English Church, as our fathers knew it, had inherited, with the rest of its ritualistic patrimony, much of the Catholic sentiment about preaching. The church prepared its collections of homilies at once. Its preachers seem to have been for some time few and poor. According to one authority, "not one beneficed clergyman in six at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign was capable of composing a sermon." The Bishop of Bangor declared that he had

but two preachers in all his diocese. In a certain county, we are told, "not a sermon was to be heard within the compass of twenty miles." "In the large town of Northampton, somewhat later, there was not one preacher, nor had been for a considerable time." It was calculated in 1586, after the Church of England had been in existence nearly thirty years, that for ten thousand parish churches there were then only two thousand preachers; so that, if persons would hear a sermon, they must go five, seven, or even twenty miles, and be fined 12*d.* beside, for being absent from their own parish church. Indeed, so far from trying to remedy this state of things, the church encouraged it. Preaching was looked upon as the main device for spreading false opinions. Queen Elizabeth declared that "it was good for a church to have few preachers," and acted accordingly. When James I., on his accession, met the Puritan clergy to hear their complaints, the Bishop of London fell upon his knees, and begged his Majesty "that all parishes might have a praying (rather than a preaching) ministry; for preaching is grown so much in fashion that the service of the Church is neglected. Besides, pulpit harangues are very dangerous. He therefore humbly moved that the number of homilies might be increased, and the clergy be obliged to read them instead of their own sermons, in which many vented their spleen against their superiors."

That there should be a revolt against this condition of things as soon as the Puritan clergy were free to act for themselves, is not astonishing. That this

reaction should go so far, that the scorned and neglected sermon in the far Western Continent, with nought to hinder and abundance of time for spiritual recreation, should take upon itself somewhat colossal dimensions, is only in accordance with human nature. With the extraordinary characteristics of the Puritan sermon, you are all familiar. The hour-glass became a regular part of the pulpit furniture, and the congregation always expected to see it turned once at least before the preaching ended. Thomas Shepard speaks in one of his sermons of certain hearers who "sit in the stocks when they are at prayers, and come out of the church when the tedious sermon runnes somewhat beyond the hour, like prisoners out of a jaile." The literary structure of these discourses was as unexampled as their length. Starting with numerous grand divisions of his theme, the preacher advances first to various subdivisions; under each subdivision meets objections from fancied disbelievers with their appropriate replies; passes on then to the so-called Uses of his theme, which Uses are subdivided perhaps into reproofs, exhortations, comfort, and choice; then sums up the doctrine that he has been unfolding to his hearers; and finally urges upon them, under many heads, its personal applications. In the shortest of my predecessor Shepard's sermons that I can find ("The Saint's Jewel"), are three divisions of his text, — viz. a loving appellation, a gracious invitation, and an argument for investigation, — followed by three Reasons for the doctrine; — these followed by four Uses;

under Use two, thirteen Objections with Answers; under Use three, two general subdivisions, with two Objections and Answers, one Exhortation and one Warning; under Use four, six divisions; — followed by five Considerations, and five Helps; — the whole being concluded by two Reproofs.

In all this we find, I think, in spite of its forbidding form, a tremendous earnestness, at whose quaint expression we allow ourselves to smile, yet which we feel was the natural outgrowth of the apostolic fervor of an apostolic age. The contemporaries of our Puritan preachers, however, judged these effusions differently, and found in them the material for infinite merriment and ridicule. To give you this outside view, let me quote the following passage from Robert South, an English divine who was born just as Shepard and his companions arrived upon these shores (1633), and who was himself a direct and brilliant result of the fresh impulse given by the Puritan movement to English pulpit oratory.

“First of all,” he says (in a sermon called “The Scribe Instructed”), these new lights “seize upon some text, from whence they *draw* something (which they call a doctrine), and well may it be said to be *drawn* from the words; forasmuch as it seldom naturally flows from them. In the next place, they branch it into several heads, perhaps twenty or thirty, or upward. Whereupon, for the prosecution of these, they repair to some trusty concordance, which never fails them, and by the help of that, they range six or seven scriptures under each head;

which scriptures they prosecute one by one, enlarging upon one for some considerable time till they have spoiled it; and then, that being done, they pass to another, which in its turn suffers accordingly."

But preaching was not the sole form which this new-born zeal for holy discourse assumed. Each church had not only a pastor, but also, if fully equipped, a teacher,—a provision based, like all their other appointments, on apostolic authority, but which it proved impossible in the end to maintain. The original intent was apparently that the pastor was to preach the sermon, the teacher, also fully trained for the ministry, to expound the Scriptures, either before or after the sermon. Sometimes the preacher of the morning service became the teacher of the afternoon; and, in general, although the distinction was long insisted on as purely scriptural, the two offices seem to have been gradually blended, and the teacher eventually disappeared. This church, for some reason, seems to have satisfied itself from the beginning with a pastor only.

A still more curious result of this return to apostolic authority, joined with the unappeasable hunger for the spoken word which seems to have seized our Puritan ancestry, was the office of prophesying. The Epistles of Paul have much to say about "prophesying," which in those days of the church seems to have been the name for any earnest, spontaneous speech. It meant probably almost exactly what we mean by extempore preaching. Our Puritan fathers, eager apparently to multiply the occa-

sions for sacred oratory, recognized in this a distinct office from preaching or teaching. Prophesying meant scripture exposition with exhortation, and was a privilege accorded in cases of exigency, as when the pastor was absent, or distinguished strangers were visiting a church, to certain of the more gifted laity. Governor Winthrop tells us of visiting Agawam, and spending the Sabbath with the people, as they were without a minister, and "exercising by way of prophecy." He tells us also that his own pastor, Mr. Wilson, on returning to England, "commended to his people the exercise of prophecy in his absence, and designated those whom he thought most fit for it, viz. the Governor, Mr. Dudley, and Mr. Nowell." Some idea of what it meant to attend church in those days of "prophesying" may be got from an account given in a private letter from Amsterdam in 1606, describing the order of Sabbath services among the English Puritans there, apparently in the absence of the pastor: "I. We begin with prayer; after, read some one or two chapters of the Bible, and give the sense thereof, and confer upon the same; that done, we lay aside our books, and, after a solemn prayer made by the first speaker, he propoundeth some text out of the scripture, and prophesieth out of the same by the space of one hour or three quarters of an hour. After him standeth up a second speaker, and prophesieth out of the said text, the like time and place, sometime more, sometime less. After him the third, the fourth, the fifth, etc., as the time will give leave. Then the first speaker concludeth with

prayer, as he began with prayer, and with an exhortation to contribute to the poor, which collection being made, is also concluded with prayer. The morning exercise begins at eight of the clock, and continueth unto twelve of the clock. The like course and exercise is observed in the afternoon, from two of the clock unto five or six of the clock. Last of all, the execution of the government of the church is handled."

This account of the peculiar religious customs of two hundred and fifty years ago would be incomplete if I were not to add one point more, to show the extreme length to which, at the very first, the revulsion from Popery carried these pious worshippers. In the mother church, basely following Romish antecedents, marriage was an ecclesiastical sacrament. The Puritan, on the contrary, declared it a civil contract. Was there any passage in scripture, he asked, which made marriage part of the minister's function? Then the minister must not perform it. It must be done by the civil magistrate as a secular rite. No marriage by a minister is found on record in New England before 1686. Strangely enough, burials came under the same category. What warrant in scripture for burying the dead with religious rites? Nay, would not such an observance encourage the Popish mummery of prayer for the dead? Funerals, accordingly, were without scripture, psalm, sermon, or prayer. The bell was tolled, friends carried the remains quietly to some churchyard or roadside enclosure, and silently laid them away. The reason

for this seems to us absurd ; yet, when we compare the tender simplicity of such a rite with the professional formalities and elaborate display attending many a modern funeral, who will say that we have not something still to learn from the Puritan ?

I should be sorry if my brief allusion to Thomas Shepard suggested any feeling towards him on my part but that of hearty admiration and reverence. His autobiography, one of the most interesting personal memorials which remain to us of that period, reveals a nature of singular transparency and simplicity, deeply sensitive, profoundly conscientious, absolutely consecrated to its high calling. All the early allusions to him, which are many, confirm this impression. Cotton Mather, in his *Magnalia*, calls him the Pastor Evangelicus. A contemporary writer, quoted in full by Dr. Newell in his "Farewell Sermon upon Leaving the Old Meeting House," speaks of Shepard as a "poore, weake, pale-complectioned man," but with a power of speech which made deep impression on the soul. Winthrop, as we have seen, in his account of the founding of this church, speaks with enthusiasm of his "heavenly prayer." His sermons, though severe of course in their theology, and cumbrous in construction, after the fashion of the time, yet show a thoroughly practised hand, and great intensity of conviction, with touches here and there of what would no doubt seem to us, if our ears were more attuned to the prolixity of seventeenth-century speech, great pungency and directness. Altogether, he appears to us, in the

dimness of distance, a fine combination of delicacy and strength, nobly fitted to head the list of pastors of this First Church of Cambridge.

How this saintly spirit of the olden time would regard us, his descendants, could he revisit these earthly scenes, it is not easy to conjecture. Unless his sturdy Puritan instincts had died out within him, we may well doubt whether he would have found anything, either in the city whose foundations he helped to lay, or in any of the churches to which his labors here have given birth, of which he could fully approve. Yet one thing we cannot doubt would have given him pleasure, — that the memory of his beautiful ministry, after two hundred and fifty years had passed, had power to heal the differences between his spiritual children, and bring them together after long separation in an act of filial reverence.

THE END.

